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The First
One Hundred
Years

Volume 1

Edited by
Ernest L. Wilkinson

Brigham Young
University Press

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Foreword

When Harvard College was founded in 1636, the Massachusetts colonists wrote, “After we had builded our houses, provided the necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God’s worship and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and to perpetuate it to posterity.” The earliest statement of the educational aim of Harvard declares: “Everyone shall consider the main end of his life and studies is to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life.”

The essential harmony of religion, education, and life was once generally accepted by Americans. Indeed, most institutions of higher learning in the United States began under religious auspices. Nine colleges were founded in the United States during the Colonial Period, and all nine were sponsored by Christian sects. These included Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Both church funds and public funds were used to support them.

During the nineteenth century, when education was becoming divorced from organized religion, when society and business were becoming secularized, Mormons in the Great Basin, instead of following the educational trend away from religion,

were establishing a series of religiously oriented, church-sponsored academies, including Brigham Young Academy at Provo and a number of academies in other communities, which eventually grew into an educational network which included Brigham Young University and its branch in Hawaii, Ricks Junior College in Idaho, schools in the Pacific and South America, and more than two hundred university-affiliated institutes of religion in the United States and abroad. These institutions provided the means for inculcating both the intellectual content of the gospel and a formula for personal and collective righteousness. Claiming to possess a body of doctrine based on divine revelation, the Mormon religion nonetheless represented an intellectual habit and discipline capable of logical demonstration and mental persuasion. It encouraged devotional practice and a personal commitment. Mormons have always believed that piety and the exercise of the mind were entirely or largely compatible. The result has been that the Mormon university student is encouraged to view religious activity not just as an extracurricular activity added to his so-called secular studies, but as the central focus of his university experience, both academic and social.

One of the strengths of Brigham Young University has been the creativity implicit in the ever-recurring tension between academic excellence and religious training, between indoctrination and inquiry. This has encouraged a scholarly and spiritual probing — a search for worldly truth and for theological understanding — that has been healthy and productive for both students and faculty. From the beginning, Latter-day Saints were instructed to discover and nurture truth “by study and also by faith.”

This three-volume history of Brigham Young University abundantly illustrates the intimate relationship of religion to education and life among the Latter-day Saints. In each stage of development of the University, the Church has sought to maintain a faculty which would be at once a congregation of disciples and a community of scholars. Whether in science, the humanities and arts, or religion, teachers would be imbued by the spirit of God in all their instruction. This has been accom-

panied by a faith on the part of the Church that the students could accept moral direction without sacrificing intellectual vitality; that explicit, demanding religious commitments could be at the base of a genuine educational achievement; and that dedication to spiritual objectives could be combined with the pursuit of scientific, intellectual, and artistic excellence without detriment to either. The Mormon prophet Joseph Smith declared: "Man was created to dress the earth, to cultivate his mind, and to glorify God."

That Brigham Young University is a school dedicated to the search after things "virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy" is illustrated by the fact that musical and dramatic productions are major social events which are attended by as many students as are athletic contests; that modest standards of dress and grooming have been maintained, even in recent years; that religious devotional assemblies, held each week, draw capacity audiences from the 25,000 members of the student body; and that as many students actively participate in church activities on Sunday as attend classes during any day of the week. More than one hundred separate branches (congregations) of the sponsoring church are operated on campus.

The Church has obviously benefited from the aid of BYU faculty and graduates who, along with other university graduates, have helped provide the professional expertise needed to develop and implement modern-day Church programs. The Church's curriculum planning, social services, internal communications, historical efforts, and entire educational system represent a few areas in which professionalization of services has occurred with the help of personnel educated at BYU and elsewhere.

When Brigham Young organized by a deed of trust in 1875 the educational institution which bears his name, the aim was to build a school surpassed by none. During the first years of its existence, Brigham Young died, thus leaving to others the responsibility of carrying out his plans. Brigham Young Academy had to look for support to the interest taken by its students, its dedicated faculty, the faithfulness and effective-

ness of its Board of Trustees, and the blessings of Almighty God. Until his death in 1895, Abraham O. Smoot, whom Brigham Young had sent to Provo to look after civic and church matters, took the responsibility of financing the Academy. After his death the First Presidency of the LDS Church assumed the main financial responsibility. They were assisted in the early years of the twentieth century by Jesse Knight, a Mormon mining magnate.

During its early years the dominant educational force in the Academy was Karl G. Maeser, a superbly trained German-born convert to Mormonism who served as principal from 1876 to 1892. He was preceded by Warren N. Dusenberry, a popular teacher who was the first principal of the institution; and succeeded by Benjamin Cluff, who was responsible for changing the name of the school from Brigham Young Academy to Brigham Young University. In 1895 the title of the executive officer was changed from principal to president. Presidents following those changes were George H. Brimhall, whose main emphasis was on the education of teachers; Franklin S. Harris, one of America's leading agricultural scientists, who organized the graduate school and gave the institution academic stature; Howard S. McDonald, who revived the University from the drains of the war years and started it on its new growth; Ernest L. Wilkinson, under whose direction BYU became the largest church related as well as the largest private university in the nation with a campus of more than one hundred buildings and a student body of more than 25,000; and Dallin Oaks, whose administration has pointed Brigham Young University in the direction of further academic maturity and excellence.

This present work, which is based to a large extent on previously unused manuscript sources, is much more than a history of Brigham Young Academy and Brigham Young University. While that story is told in comprehensive detail, the panorama of related historical events is also portrayed, including the dedication of Joseph Smith to education, early educational programs of the Church, Brigham Young's educational vision, the struggles of the early pioneers for educa-

tion, and the establishment in Provo of schools which were preliminary to the founding of Brigham Young Academy. The work recounts the long, bitter struggles between non-Mormons and their churches and the LDS Church and its leaders for control of educational and political government in Utah; the early sacrifices, efforts, and contributions of the BYU faculty; the establishment and evolution of the Church school system; the contest within the Church for the Church Academy to be located at Provo, Logan, or Salt Lake City; and the final emergence of BYU in the 1950s as the winner of that contest.

The editor of these volumes, former president of Brigham Young University, whose administration is discussed as a part of this history, is Ernest L. Wilkinson. Born in Ogden, Utah, son of a Scottish immigrant father and a mother who was of Danish descent, Ernest Wilkinson is a former student of BYU — a graduate of 1921. Editor of the school paper and president of his class, he met there Alice Valera Ludlow, who became his wife in 1923. The couple subsequently became parents of three sons and two daughters.

After teaching two years at Weber State College in Ogden, Wilkinson attended George Washington University Law School, graduating *summa cum laude*. He later went to Harvard, where he received the degree of Doctor of Juridical Science in 1927. While beginning his practice of law with the firm of Charles Evans Hughes in New York City, he served for five years as professor of law at the New Jersey Law School at Newark, then the largest law school in the nation. He also functioned as a Mormon bishop during these years. Later he opened his own office in Washington, D.C., where he practiced law for sixteen years. The most memorable case handled by his Washington law firm was one involving the Ute Indians in which the evidence and testimonies totaled 34,000 pages of testimony and written material. The case lasted sixteen years, with Wilkinson representing the Utes in obtaining a combined judgment by settlement of \$32,000,000 — the largest judgment up to that time rendered against the United States in any court. While in Washington he was a counselor in the presi-

dency of the Washington Stake and represented the Church on the National Commission of Army and Navy Chaplains.

In 1951 Dr. Wilkinson became president of Brigham Young University. In a period of twenty years he oversaw the construction of eighty major buildings, accumulated a superior faculty, and built the enrollment from less than five thousand to more than twenty-five thousand. Dr. Wilkinson also served, during the years 1953 to 1964, as chancellor of the Unified (LDS) Church School System. He was also active in business and political affairs. He served as president of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities and in 1964 was Utah's Republican nominee for the United States Senate. He is the recipient of a number of honorary doctoral degrees. Prior to and upon his resignation from BYU in 1971, he also played an active role in the establishment of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University. He is still the senior member of the Washington, D.C., law firm of Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker, which he organized. During the past three years his work as editor of these volumes has occupied the bulk of his time and deserves the gratitude of all friends of Brigham Young University.

Leonard J. Arrington, Church Historian
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
September 1974

Preface

These three volumes tell the story of the strange and often incredible events which launched and fostered Brigham Young University during its first century of colorful existence. From the very beginning it has been a Cinderella story. The school was born in poverty, nurtured in conflict, orphaned by the death of its founder before he had completed his endowment gifts, restricted and harrassed by the heirs of the founder who had veto power in administrative matters, left homeless when its uninsured buildings were completely destroyed by fire, threatened and faced with faculty and administrative resignations because of irregular or missed salary payments, and nearly abandoned on many occasions because of lack of funds to carry on.

During its first twenty-one years of existence the school was a private school without a sponsor or means of support to finance its operation. It survived only because of the financial sacrifices made by its faculty and Board of Trustees and voluntary gifts from its friends and from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

After twenty-one years of struggling existence, the school was incorporated as an educational subsidiary of the Church

which had contributed to its survival. But even then it had to compete with other Church schools for funds and recognition of its academic programs. It was subject to constant pressures from certain Church leaders to close down and to permit state institutions of higher learning to take over its functions. As late as 1945 a new president of the University was asked to recommend whether the school should be continued.

Although its founders were hopeful that the humble institution they brought into being would prosper and become a substantial school, it is inconceivable that anyone with ordinary vision who agonized through those early struggles could have foreseen that within less than four generations this isolated mountain school would become, not only the largest church-related, but also the largest private institution of higher learning in the United States. Its restricted enrollment has grown to over 25,000 full-time students coming from every state in the Union and one hundred foreign countries.¹ The school also maintains educational centers in Austria, France, Spain, Mexico, and Israel. Its student body, which is open to students of all races, faiths, and countries, includes some eight thousand young men and women who have given two years of their lives at their own or their parents' expense in taking the gospel of Jesus Christ as understood by the Latter-day Saints to some fifty-four countries of the world.

In addition to classroom religious training, the LDS Church sponsors 117 on-campus branches of the Church, each of which provides for the needs of about two hundred students. Most branch officers are faculty members or students, and Church meetings are held three times every Sunday and at various times during the week. The campus appears as busy on these occasions as during regular academic classes. While attendance at Church meetings is voluntary, the facilities are usually filled to capacity by both members and nonmembers of the LDS Church. These Church activities insure that BYU students grow spiritually as they develop intellectually.

1. During the 1973-74 school year, enrollment totaled almost 29,000 full-time equivalent students.

During the academic turbulence and campus anarchy across the nation during the late 1960s and early 1970s, BYU attracted national attention as an island of law and order. The BYU campus remained free from disturbances and riots, and BYU students maintained high standards of dress, grooming, behavior, and respect for country. Every school day the national anthem is played as the American flag is raised and lowered on campus, during which time students all over the campus stand at attention. BYU standards of admission and conduct require the observance of a single standard of morality, conformance to a strict code of honor, and the regular observance of the Christian Sabbath. Strong language, loose living, liquor, tobacco, and drugs are not tolerated. During its entire century of history BYU has taught what modern medical science has now confirmed: that tobacco and alcohol are “not good for the body.”

Brigham Young University leaders anticipated modern educational thought by providing coeducational training from the beginning of the school, its founder having declared that if he had to choose between the education of his daughters and his sons he would choose to educate his daughters because they would have the most influence on the rising generations.

In addition to its on-campus student body of 25,000, the University has an enrollment of 247,000 in the school's off-campus continuing education program, giving it the largest such program in the United States. Many of its other unique accomplishments, especially its academic performance, will be narrated in the body of this history. Along with the great academic strides it has made, Brigham Young University has never forgotten the injunction of its founder Brigham Young, who said that “You should not even teach the alphabet or the multiplication tables without the inspiration and blessing of your Heavenly Father.”

As the school enters its second century of operation, Brigham Young University Trustees, administrators, faculty, staff, and students are enthusiastically working to fulfill the vision of John Taylor, third President of the LDS Church,

who prophesied that the day would come when “Zion will be as far ahead of the world in everything pertaining to learning of every kind as we are today in regard to religious matters.”² The accomplishment of this goal in all fields of learning will require even greater dedication, maturity, and effort than has so far been demonstrated. It will mean a greater recognition by the Church General Authorities, administrators, faculty, and students alike that the University must measure up in performance as well as in ideals to its status as the University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It must implant in its students the highest spiritual values and be a leader in secular education as well. In the past some in responsible positions have equated the University with secular institutions of higher learning. This should no longer continue. The University must develop creative new programs of its own and follow the traditional programs of other institutions only to the extent they further the interest of a complete Christian education. Each teacher must realize, as did Karl G. Maeser, that his is not just a teaching position, but a calling that carries with it an obligation to develop within each student a testimony of the divinity of Jesus Christ and a resolve to exemplify His teachings. Consideration should be given to better utilization of the potential of the University, its faculty, and its eight thousand returned missionaries.

If these goals are accomplished, the University may anticipate that through proper leadership, righteous deportment, and outstanding performance of its faculty and students, Brigham Young University, under the leadership of the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, may fulfill the dream of Charles H. Malik, former president of the United Nations General Assembly, who voiced the fervent hope that some day “a great university will arise somewhere — I hope in America — to which Christ will return in His full glory and power, a university which will, in the promotion of scientific,

2. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 21:100.

intellectual and artistic excellence, surpass by far even the best secular universities of the present, but which will at the same time enable Christ to bless it and act and feel perfectly at home in it.”³

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3. Charles H. Malik, “Education in Upheaval: The Christian’s Responsibility,” *Creative Help for Daily Living* 21 (September 1970): 10.

Acknowledgments

Over the past one hundred years at least nine committees have been appointed by the Board of Trustees and various presidents of the school to write a history of Brigham Young University. In every instance, however, these committees were made up of Trustees or faculty members who were excessively burdened with other tasks. Furthermore, there was never adequate financing for a professional staff to carry out these committee assignments. No doubt these are the two major reasons why no comprehensive history of Brigham Young University has yet been written.

It was only as the BYU Centennial Year loomed on the horizon that the true proportions of this task were squarely recognized, and the personnel and finances were provided to get the job underway. To the Oaks Administration belongs credit for making a realistic appraisal of the true dimensions of the project and securing approval for the budget and personnel needed. In 1972 President Dallin H. Oaks asked the present editor to undertake the task. The editor accepted the assignment without adequate recognition of what it entailed. Had it not been for a competent staff of tireless workers who were assigned to assist, this history would never have

been finished in the three years allotted for its completion. The editor is deeply indebted to all of the members of his staff for their invaluable contributions to this three volume work.

Early in the preparation of the history the editor appointed an advisory committee consisting of Leonard Arrington, Edwin Butterworth, LeRoy Hafen, Wayne B. Hales, John Clifton Moffitt, Ernest L. Olson, Kiefer B. Sauls, Hollis Scott, and Vasco M. Tanner. This committee, all members of which had a good university background, gave invaluable advice in getting the project underway.

When the work began, the editor asked the University archivist and others, including the Centennial History Advisory Committee, to provide a list of all documents which should be read in preparation for the writing. This resulted in a fifty-one page single-spaced list of books, documents, theses, and other materials. With these materials as a base, the editor and his assistants spent over a year making a draft of the early history of BYU. Soon after this was completed the Church Office Building of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was moved from 47 East South Temple Street to its new location on North Temple Street in Salt Lake City. The moving process uncovered a great many documents in the basement of the old office building which necessitated a substantial revision of the history thus far written. After this extensive revision the staff found the minutes of Utah Stake. Because Abraham O. Smoot was president of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy from the time of its organization in 1875 and president of Utah Stake until he died in 1895, many of the decisions pertaining to the University were discussed by the officers of Utah Stake. These minutes, therefore, necessitated another revision of the history.

In 1974 the children of James E. Talmage, who was a member of the BYU faculty from the time he was twenty years of age until seven years later when he became president of Latter-day Saints University, gave BYU his diaries. These were extremely valuable. The Centennial History Staff also obtained the complete diaries of David John, second counselor to President Abraham O. Smoot in the Utah Stake Presi-

dency, and Horace H. Cummings, commissioner of Church Schools from 1906 to 1920. In addition, Church officials graciously permitted a review of many papers of General Authorities not previously available to researchers. These acquisitions and reviews necessitated further revisions of the history. As the first volume was about ready for the printer, relatives of Walter M. Wolfe, who was second in command of the Cluff Expedition to South America, gave his diaries to BYU. These were valuable in corroborating the manuscripts and primary sources pertaining to the Cluff Expedition that had previously been reviewed.

Even though the present work is a comprehensive history, it is of necessity to a certain extent selective. No claim is made that it is completely free of errors or that it contains everything of historical value pertaining to Brigham Young University. In the beginning it was contemplated that the staff would read everything written about Brigham Young University during the one hundred years of its history. This turned out to be impossible both because the task was too large and because time was too limited. Attempt has been made as far as possible to base this history on primary sources such as the minutes of the Board of Trustees, minutes of faculty meetings, and correspondence of the First Presidency, the presidents of the University, and other persons directly involved in the history of the school. Reports made by representatives of the various colleges of the University have also been used. The available correspondence of all presidents of the University through Wilkinson was reviewed by the research staff. It did not seem proper to examine the recent correspondence of President Dallin Oaks. It is hoped that what has been compiled in this history will encourage even further research into the school's exciting and dynamic history.

Every attempt has been made to weave the documents into an absorbing, even-flowing, consistent, and basically chronological presentation. Particular care has been taken to objectively and candidly portray the points of real significance. The conclusions, except those pertaining to his own administration, are those of the editor, and he accepts full

responsibility for the views expressed in this history.

The editor regrets that both lack of time and space did not permit proper tribute to be paid to scores of faculty members and friends of the University who made large contributions to the school during its first century of existence.

The editor is indebted to James R. Clark, who was his chief assistant in the preparation of this three-volume history. Without his help the work would never have been finished. The editor is also greatly indebted to W. Cleon Skousen, who wrote the one-volume abridgment of this history. Relatively few changes were made in his drafts. The staff of researchers, writers, and compilers included Richard E. Bennett, who was on the staff from the beginning and was a most valuable researcher, compiler, and writer; Eugene T. Thompson; Harvard Heath; and Janet W. Hansen, who comprised the remainder of the original research and writing staff and who performed yeoman service in bringing this project to completion; and Roy K. Bird, who joined the staff in 1974 and gave meticulous assistance in the final editing.

Leonard J. Arrington read the entire manuscript and offered valuable suggestions for its improvement. Robert K. Thomas read certain of the chapters and also made suggestions. Edwin Butterworth rendered valuable assistance in the search for photographs to be included in the history. Linda W. Lee typed and retyped the manuscript several times (some parts were rewritten as many as a dozen times) and also served as the editor's memory in keeping track of the multifaceted fragments of this voluminous manuscript. Edith Johnson, in addition to her other duties as the editor's personal secretary, worked many extra hours on this project.

The editor is also indebted to John C. Moffitt, who gave particular historical insights into the early history of Provo, and to Dr. Wayne B. Hales, a student or member of the faculty of BYU under five administrations, who gave constructive suggestions for improvement of many of the chapters as they were in process of completion. Vasco M. Tanner and Ephraim Hatch also consulted with the editor on the final form of the manuscript. Hollis Scott, BYU Archivist, has generously do-

nated his own assistance and the help of his staff throughout this project. Kiefer B. Sauls provided an overall perspective of the University during his fifty-four years of service and was especially helpful in the preparation of the chapters on the Harris Administration. Helen Candland Stark was helpful in depicting student life during the Harris Administration. Bruce C. Hafen was responsible in large part for the chapters on the Oaks Administration. Ernest L. Olson and his staff have advised us with respect to the printing and publication of the history. The deans of the BYU colleges assisted in the collection of information relating to their colleges. We are also grateful for the help of Fern Eyring Fletcher and Anna Boss Hart, who prepared the original drafts of the biographies of the wives of the presidents of BYU as well as biographies of other women who made large contributions to the history of the school. Lorna Call Alder assisted them.

The editor is doubly grateful to the First Presidency of the Church for permitting us to examine minutes of the BYU Board of Trustees and Church Board of Education and for permitting us to use correspondence of the First Presidency and Presidents of the Church.

Secretarial services for the research staff were provided at various times by Karen S. Echols (full time during parts of the project), Klea C. Lundgreen, Nanette B. Bame, Carolyn F. Baum, Phyllis L. Thompson, and Patricia D. Bennett.

Finally, the editor expresses appreciation to his sweetheart, who, after twenty-eight busy years as wife of a law student and lawyer and twenty years as wife of a president of BYU, had anticipated that the editor would at long last devote a good part of his time to her and to their family, but who, because of this history, has endured or enjoyed an additional three years of "widowhood." Mrs. Wilkinson also assisted in the editing of the manuscript.

Editor's Introduction

To understand the history of Brigham Young University, one must understand the educational philosophy and practice of its sponsoring institution, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹ The Church and the school are committed to the ideal of an all-embracing, inspiring Christian education. Secular education is considered a handmaiden of religion in the eyes of the Latter-day Saints. Dr. M. Lynn Bennion summarized this basic Mormon belief:

Mormon education embraces secular learning as a constituent part of universal truth, which emanates from a divine source. All education, therefore, is religious and

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1. The Church derives its name through direct revelation given to Joseph Smith (*see* Doctrine and Covenants, sections 20, 21, and 115). The overall beliefs of the Church are contained in four books called the standard works of the Church, namely: the Bible; the Book of Mormon (1830), which is the record of a civilization that inhabited the American Continent from 589 B.C. to approximately A.D. 400 and which confirms the Christian beliefs of the Bible; the Doctrine and Covenants (1835), which is a record of divine revelations given to Joseph Smith, first President of the LDS Church; and the Pearl of Great Price (1851), which is a compilation of certain writings of Moses, Abraham, and Joseph Smith.

essential to progress. Even the vocational aspects of education are permeated with moral and religious aims. According to Mormon philosophy, the sciences have as their content the discovered truths of God and the humanities, at least theology, contain the revealed truths of God. This concept has given a tremendously broad scope to Mormon education, all of which serves a religious end. Education, therefore, from the Mormon viewpoint, must be mental, physical, moral, and spiritual. Any conflicts that may arise between science and religion are due to man's faulty or incomplete understanding of them. There can be no conflict between eternal truths. God is what He is because of the truth He possesses, and man, who is the spiritual offspring of God, may attain to the stature of Godhood through knowledge of its divine use. This in fact is the goal of man: to follow in the footsteps of his Father.²

The purpose and design of Mormon education is to enable the student to distinguish between right and wrong, to motivate him to emulate the good, to equip him professionally to sustain himself and his family, and to prepare him to serve his fellowmen. In this way divine revelation and empirical knowledge unite to stimulate character building and intellectual growth.

The philosophy of Christian education has not been confined exclusively to the Mormons or to Brigham Young University. As late as 1953, in an address to the Association of American Colleges, Dr. M.E. Sadler, president of the association and president of Texas Christian University, urged a vigorous return to Christian education:

Certainly an educational institution cannot make itself meaningfully Christian by encouraging the establishment of any number of religious side shows around about its program. As a matter of fact, many thoughtful educational leaders wonder if the establishment of these peripheral religious projects have not dulled the con-

2. Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: LDS Dept. of Education, 1939), pp. 123-25.

science of some institutions and kept them from developing more fundamental programs.

The program cannot be solved merely by adding a course here, or a department there, nor by having any number of prescribed chapel or so-called religious services. As I see it, the full solution of this problem involves a complete conversion, a new direction, a return to vital religion as the focal center of *all* sound education. It will not suffice to have religion merely as one stone in the total educational building. It must be the overreaching beam, the focalizing center, the permeating spirit, the uniting force which gives meaning and significance to *all* subjects and *all* courses. If God is the ultimate and controlling reality of life, learning is obviously inadequate unless it does confess Him as its Foundation.³

The difference between other universities committed to a Christian education (which are rapidly diminishing in number and importance) and Brigham Young University is that the Christian doctrines taught at Brigham Young include not only the teachings of the Bible but the additional teachings of the Book of Mormon and modern revelations given by the Lord to Joseph Smith, the first Mormon prophet, and to his successors. In this respect, Brigham Young University is unique among Christian universities, just as its sponsoring Church is unique among Christian churches. This concept of a complete Christian education has been an inseparable part of the philosophy and practice of the Church from its organization in 1830 and of the University since its founding in 1875. The Prophet Joseph Smith was an avid supporter of education, basing his commitment to education on revelations he received. A few of the more well-known are

The Glory of God is intelligence, or in other words light and truth (D&C 93:36).

It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance (D&C 131:6).

A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge, and if

3. M.E. Sadler, "Some Crucial Issues in Higher Education," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 39 (March 1953): 7-16.

he does not get knowledge he will be brought into captivity by some evil power in the other world, as evil spirits will have more knowledge, and consequently more power than many men who are on earth (*History of the Church*, 4:588).

Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come (D&C 130:18-19).

With this divine premise, the history of Brigham Young University is the record of a school that has sought to make Christian philosophy an integral part of the University's curriculum and practice.

Brigham Young University

1

Early Mormon Education

From its first struggling years Brigham Young University drew upon the Mormon educational tradition which preceded its founding. Latter-day Saint scripture stressed education and its relevance to true religion. In addition, native ingenuity enabled early Latter-day Saints to adapt religious teachings to their practical needs. Finally, Mormon ability to overcome political, economic, and social opposition became the legacy of Brigham Young University.

School Begins in Kirtland, Ohio

In June 1831, just fourteen months after The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized and very shortly after headquarters had been established in Kirtland, Ohio, the Lord revealed to Joseph Smith, founder of the Church, that W. W. Phelps, a new convert and former editor of the *Ontario* (New York) *Phoenix*, was to assist Oliver Cowdery in “selecting and writing books for schools in this church” (D&C 55:4). Thus, the obligation of the Church to provide education for its members was established by revelation. In November 1831 another revelation charged parents to see that their children were given a good education and trained to



Joseph Smith, Jr., first President
of The Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints.

“walk uprightly before the Lord” (D&C 68:25-28). *The Evening and the Morning Star*, the Church’s first newspaper, urged that “the disciples should lose no time in preparing schools for their children, that they may be taught as is pleasing to the Lord, and brought up in the way of holiness. Those appointed to select and prepare books for the use of the schools will attend to that subject as soon as more weighty matters are finished.”¹

However, the “weighty matters” intervened, preventing inauguration of a formal school system until 1834. Until that time schools were held in private homes.² In December 1832 Joseph Smith received another revelation pertaining to education. Sixty priesthood bearers were directed to attend “the school of the prophets” (D&C 88:127, 135-141). The school was “established for their instruction in all things that are expedient for . . . those who are called to the ministry in the Church, beginning at the High Priests, even down to the deacons.” In a letter to all branches of the Church, Joseph Smith said that the preparation of the school of the prophets was “as important as our salvation.”³ This short-term school for a few of the “first elders” served a sacral as well as pedagogical role, establishing a pattern which influenced other Kirtland schools.⁴

In another heavenly manifestation known as the “Olive Leaf” revelation, the Lord defined an educational credo for the whole Church. Traditionally antagonistic systems of science and religion, faith and reason, were reconciled in one simple injunction: “Seek learning, even by study and also by

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1. “Common Schools,” *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (1832): 7-8.
 2. Orlen C. Peterson, “A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Ohio and Missouri, 1831-1839” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 9-12.
 3. Joseph Smith, Jr., Letter Books, 1833, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 37. Hereafter, the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, located in Salt Lake City, Utah, will be referred to as Church Historical Department.
 4. See Peterson, pp. 16-33.

faith" (D&C 88:118). The revelation instructed the Saints to study "things both in heaven and in the earth" [astronomy, geology, archeology, physics, chemistry, biology]; "things which have been" [history]; "things which are" [current events]; "things which must shortly come to pass" [prophecy]; "things which are at home" [domestic affairs]; "things which are abroad" [foreign affairs]; "the wars and perplexities of nations" [international relations]; "the judgments which are upon the land" [scriptural fulfillment]; and "countries and kingdoms" [modern history, geography].⁵

Following the tradition of the school of the prophets, the school of the elders, which was evidently started by Parley Pratt in Missouri, stressed, in addition to direct spiritual experience, missionary instruction and forensics.⁶ A similar school in Kirtland, begun late in 1834, emphasized history, geography, literature, philosophy, politics, and English grammar.⁷ From this school came the "Lectures on Faith," usually attributed to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon.

The Kirtland High School, established some time in December 1834, continued until the following spring.⁸ Terms were short, but the school compared favorably with contemporary Ohio schools.⁹ William M'Lellin, educator and member of the newly organized Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, said the school was "conducted under the immediate care

5. D&C 88:79-80. This interpretation is traditional among exegetes. See Hyrum M. Smith and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Doctrine and Covenants Commentary*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971); Sidney B. Sperry, *Doctrine and Covenants Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960); and Francis Henry Edwards, *A Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1967).

6. Parley Parker Pratt, *Autobiography* (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), p. 100: "A school of the Elders was also organized, over which I was called to preside. This class, to the number of about sixty, met for instruction once a week. The place of meeting was in the open air, under some tall trees, in a retired place in the wilderness. . . . To attend this school I had to travel on foot and sometimes with bare feet at that, about six miles. This I did once a week, besides visiting and preaching in five or six branches a week."

7. Peterson, pp. 39-40.

8. *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (February 1835).

9. Peterson, pp. 48-49.

and inspection of Joseph Smith, Jr., Frederick G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, and Oliver Cowdery, trustees.” The school grew rapidly. Within three weeks “the classes became so large and the house so crowded, that it was thought advisable to dismiss all the small students, and to continue those only who wished to study penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography.” Since 1827 M’Lellin had “taught school in five different states, and visited many schools in which I was engaged as teacher; in none, I can say, with certainty, I have seen students make more rapid progress than in this.”¹⁰

In 1836 the school moved to five small classrooms on the third floor of the Kirtland Temple.¹¹ Principal H. M. Hawes supervised instruction in classical languages, English, and mathematics. There were two departments, one for juveniles and the other for older students.¹² Besides the high school, Joseph Smith’s Hebrew school, directed by Jewish scholar Joshua Seixas, attracted a large number of students.¹³ There was also a debating school at the house of William Smith,¹⁴ along with singing schools and a number of grammar schools.¹⁵

Schools in Missouri

Early Mormon schools in Missouri did not develop as rapidly as the schools in Kirtland; nevertheless, they made some notable accomplishments. The Colesville school, dedicated in August 1831, was the first school erected within the boundaries of present-day Kansas City.¹⁶ Later, when the Church was forced to move from Independence to Far West,

10. *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (February 1835).

11. Clarence Fields, “History of the Kirtland Temple” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963), pp. 28-29.

12. “Our Village,” *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (1837): 444.

13. Peterson, pp. 50-63.

14. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B.H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-12), 2:340 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). See also Peterson, pp. 66-67.

15. Peterson, pp. 64-67.

16. *Kansas City Journal Post*, 4 March 1923.

Missouri, "a large and comfortable school house was built," which was "used as a church, a town hall and court house, as well as for a schoolhouse."¹⁷ An observer of Mormon life writing in the *Boston Atlas* noted that the Saints "encouraged education; and they all had the rudiments of learning, taught under our school system in the East."¹⁸

In 1838, as a result of public clamor against the Latter-day Saints, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued an expulsion order which gave the Mormons three days to begin moving out of Missouri. Although the order was clearly a violation of their civil rights, the Mormons evacuated their cities in midwinter and finally assembled in Illinois along the eastern side of the swampy banks of the Mississippi River. There they built Nauvoo, the "City Beautiful," which soon became the largest community in Illinois.

Nauvoo, Illinois, Educational System

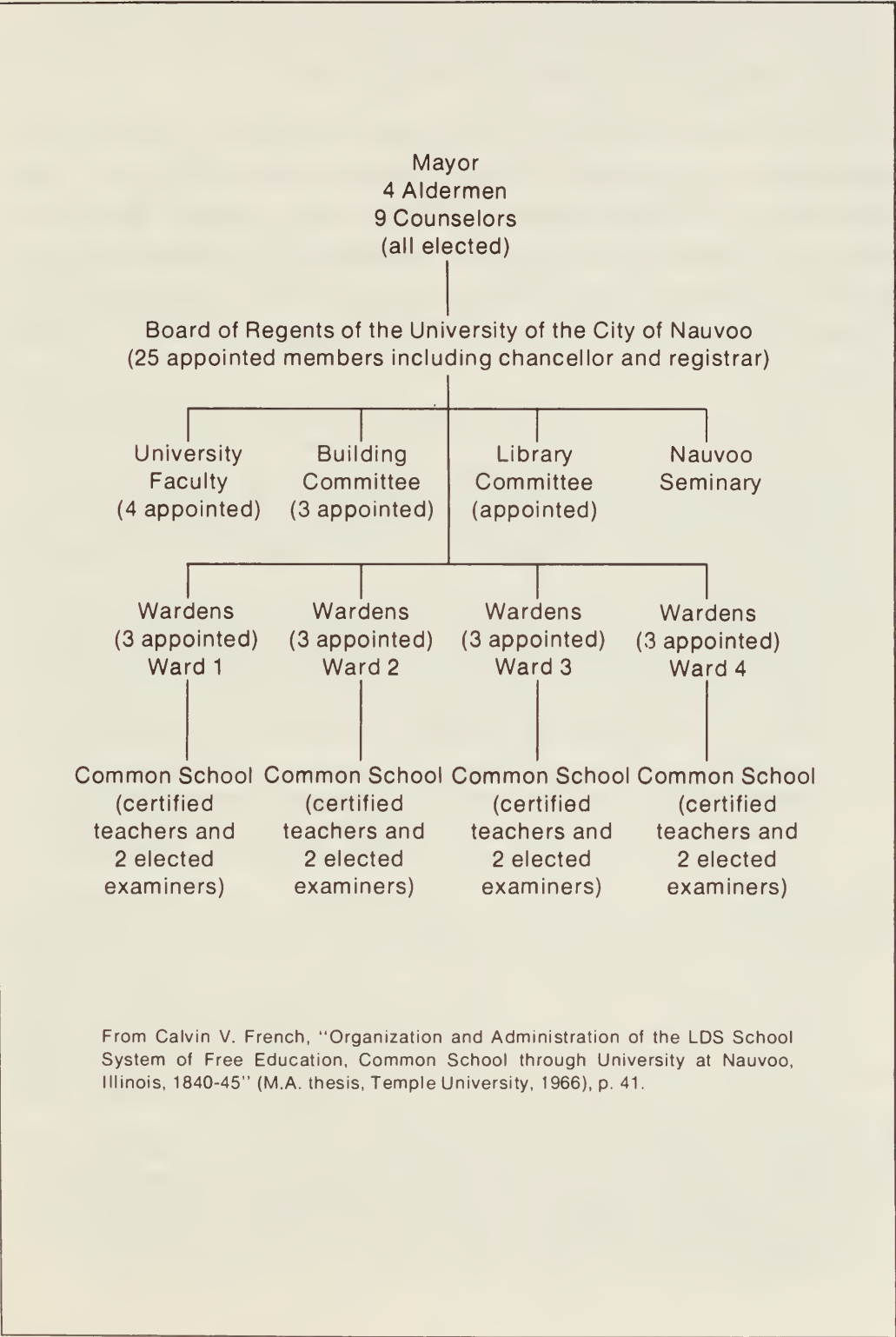
Almost before crude cabins were completed in Nauvoo, the Saints turned their attention to education. The Nauvoo City Charter, granted by the Illinois State Legislature on 16 December 1840, provided for the establishment of

an institution of learning within the limits of the city for the teaching of the arts, sciences, and learned professions to be called the "University of the City of Nauvoo," which institution shall be under the control and management of a board of trustees, consisting of a chancellor, registrar, and twenty-three regents, which board shall thereafter be a body corporate and politic, with perpetual succession, by the name of "Chancellor and Regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo," and shall have full power to pass, ordain, establish and execute all such laws and ordinances as they consider necessary for the welfare and prosperity of said university, its officers and students: PROVIDED, that the said laws and ordinances shall not

17. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1886), pp. 120-21.

18. *Boston Atlas*, 16 March 1839.

Administrative Structure
of the University of the City of Nauvoo



From Calvin V. French, "Organization and Administration of the LDS School System of Free Education, Common School through University at Nauvoo, Illinois, 1840-45" (M.A. thesis, Temple University, 1966), p. 41.

be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State, and PROVIDED ALSO, that the trustees shall at all times be appointed by the City Council, and shall have all the powers and privileges for the advancement of education which appertain to the trustees of any other college or university of this State.¹⁹

The Nauvoo educational system represented a singular improvement over earlier Mormon educational attempts. The university, or “parent school,” was to supervise all education from “common schools up to the highest branches of a most liberal collegiate course.”²⁰ Mayor John C. Bennett urged that “the most liberal policy should attend the organization of the

19. “The City Charter of the City Council of Nauvoo,” Nauvoo, Illinois, 1842, p. 8. The Nauvoo Charter has often been discussed by historians. J. L. Kimball’s “A Study of the Nauvoo Charter, 1840-45” (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1966), and R. B. Flanders’ *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966) are the most comprehensive statements on the Nauvoo Charter. Kimball said,

Among all the Universities of the state the University of the City of Nauvoo was distinctive. While the General Assembly chose the boards of trustees for other colleges and universities, the Nauvoo City Council had the authority of initial and perpetual appointment. The State, in effect, had surrendered a portion of its autonomy over the regulation of the university and invested a city council with powers the state had formerly reserved for itself. The University of Nauvoo also became, by this action, a city university rather than a private or denominational institution. (p. 39)

Kimball further observed that, “Whereas Nauvoo had the only city-operated university in Illinois, it is not known as to the prevalence of city-operated institutions at this time elsewhere in the nation” (p. 57). Bennion asserted that the University of the City of Nauvoo was the first municipal university in the United States (*Mormonism and Education*, p. 22). At the time the Nauvoo Charter was granted, Abraham Lincoln was a member of the Illinois State Legislature, and Stephen A. Douglas was Illinois secretary of state.

20. “Proclamation to the Saints Scattered Abroad,” *Times and Seasons* 2 (1841): 274-75. Our discussion of the Nauvoo school system is much indebted to H. S. Salisbury’s “History of Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” *Journal of History*, July 1922, pp. 257-81.

University” with “equal honors and privileges extended to all classes of the community.”²¹

On 16 August 1841 *Times and Seasons*, the Church newspaper in Nauvoo, announced that “the department of English literature is now in successful operation” and advised that the university was ready to offer a “general course of mathematics, including arithmetic, algebra, geometry, conic sections, plane trigonometry, mensuration, surveying, navigation, analytical, plane and spherical trigonometry, analytical geometry, and the differential and integral calculus.” Courses in philosophy, astronomy, and chemistry were also to be taught. Later, a department of music was added.²² Non-Mormon historian Hubert H. Bancroft praised the faculty and administration of the new school:

The president of the university and professor of mathematics and English literature is James Kelly, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and a ripe scholar; Orson Pratt, a man of pure mind and a high order of ability, who without early education and amidst great difficulties had to achieve learning as best he could, and in truth has achieved it, professor of languages; Orson Spencer, graduate of Union College and Baptist Theological Seminary, New York, professor of church history, belles-lettres and oratory. In the board of regents we find the leading men of the church.²³

President James Kelley was a non-Mormon.²⁴ Indeed, the school was, in form, a secular rather than denominational

21. *Times and Seasons*, 2 (1841): 317-18.

22. *Times and Seasons*, 3 (1842): 663.

23. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: History Company, 1890), p. 146.

24. According to French, “Some non Latter-day Saints were named to serve” on the Board of Regents (p. 39). Kimball (pp. 39-41) and French (pp. 50-51) also commented on the school’s secular nature, stating that religion classes were not mentioned. However, Peterson (pp. 47-48) pointed out that religion classes were probably not mentioned because everyone took their existence for granted.

institution, even though the Saints controlled its operation. The university used the Church headquarters building, the Nauvoo Seminary northeast of the LDS Temple, and the Masonic Temple on Main Street for classrooms. General fees for texts and other minor costs ranged from two dollars and fifty cents to five dollars per term.²⁵ Teachers were employed by the Board of Regents, who paid their salaries.²⁶

Trek to the Rocky Mountains

On 27 June 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois. The leadership of the Church fell unexpectedly on the shoulders of Brigham Young. Brigham Young, who joined the Church in 1832, had been in England from 1840 to 1841. When he returned, he spent three years building a family home, serving on the Nauvoo City Council, helping supervise construction of the Nauvoo Temple, and building Nauvoo into the largest community in Illinois. From the time he joined the Church, Brigham Young was an avid student of Joseph Smith's philosophy. Asserting that he "was as well acquainted with him as any man," Brigham Young proclaimed that it was necessary to "continue the work that Joseph Smith commenced until everything is prepared for the coming of the Son of Man."²⁷

Within a year of Joseph Smith's death, mobs had surrounded Nauvoo and threatened to take the city by violence unless the Saints agreed to evacuate by spring. Brigham Young was prepared for the emergency. Recalling that

25. See French, p. 46. French cites as his source "The Nauvoo School Records, Schedules of Common Schools in Nauvoo, 1842-45," on microfilm in the archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

26. Speaking of the Nauvoo Seminary (the high school), French said "the costs of the school and of instruction were paid from the central school treasury" (p. 60). *See also* his section entitled "Taxation" (pp. 27-29).

27. Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 8:41.

Joseph Smith had prophesied in 1842 that the Saints would be driven to the Rocky Mountains,²⁸ he organized his people into “Camps of Israel” to prepare for an exodus. Even during these difficult times, the Church continued its commitment to education. On 4 February 1846, the same day that the overland party from Nauvoo put its first wagon across the Mississippi on ice, another Mormon party, led by Samuel Brannan, left New York on the ship *Brooklyn* bound for California and then the Rocky Mountains, carrying with them “a large quantity of school books, among which are named spelling books, histories, books on arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, geography, Hebrew grammars, slates, etc.”²⁹ While in Winter Quarters, Nebraska, on 23 December 1847, five months after the first company arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley, the Council of the Twelve wrote that it was “very desirable that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education — every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc.”³⁰

Education in Early Deseret

Once they arrived in the mountains, the settlers seemed almost as anxious to get schools started as they were to plant crops: “In the pioneer days every new settlement, as soon as it had planted crops, opened a school — in the open air, in tents,

28. *History of the Church*, 5:85.

29. B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1957), 3:27-28 (hereafter cited as *Comprehensive History of the Church*).

30. “General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles,” *Millennial Star*, 10 (1848): 85. The minutes of the high council at Winter Quarters show that, even in the bleakness of this wasteland, Mormon schools were operating.

in log houses, in adobes.”³¹ Towns, following the pattern devised by Joseph Smith, were laid out so that the farmer could live in the community and “enjoy all the advantages of schools, public lectures, and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society . . . but they will enjoy the same privileges of society and can surround their homes with the same intellectual life, the same social refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or banker or professional man.”³²

Within three months after Salt Lake City was settled, “a school was taught in the ‘Old Fort,’ by Miss Mary Jane Dilworth, aged seventeen. . . . She opened her little school . . . about the last of October in a small round tent on the west side of the south extension of the old stockade. Pieces of logs were used for seats, and a small camp-table for a desk. In January following, Julian Moses, as soon as he had finished his little log house covered with willows and earth, began teaching a school therein, having benches made of puncheons. Similar schools sprang up in other settlements as fast as they were formed.”³³ The first public building in Mormon settlements was a schoolhouse, a multipurpose structure used for school during the week, church services on Sunday, public meetings, and occasional dances in the evenings. During their second winter in the Salt Lake Valley the Saints nearly starved to death because a cricket plague had destroyed more than half their crops.³⁴ Despite the famine, education continued. In June

31. Herbert Eugene Bolton, “The Mormons in the Opening of the Great West,” *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 14 November 1925.

32. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:311-12.

33. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons, 1892), 1:433-34.

34. Captain John W. Gunnison, government explorer in Utah, painted this vivid picture of the valiant but fruitless battle against the devouring enemy:

In vain did the sorrowful farmers surround their fields with trenches, and fill them with water; the black host, leaping in, floated over, and with wonderful instinct, kept on the course of march, and mounting up the wheat-stock, would cut it off at the curve which was bent by the weight of the fruit more precious than golden seeds. Whole families might be seen standing guard,

1849 the First Presidency reported: "There have been a large number of schools the past winter, in which the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Tahitian, and English languages have been taught successfully."³⁵

Schools were founded wherever Mormons colonized. The first school at Manti, built in 1850, was used for school and worship purposes, as was the first schoolhouse in Payson, built early in 1853. Since school buildings took considerable time to erect, classes were often initiated long before permanent community structures were available. Apostle George Albert Smith described teaching conditions in Parowan:

My wicky-up is a very important establishment, composed of brush, a few slabs and 3 wagons. A fire in the center and a lot of milking stools, benches and logs placed around, two of which are fashioned with buffalo robes. It answers for various purposes, kitchen, schoolhouse, dining room, meeting house, council house, sitting room, reading room, store room. To see my school some of the cold nights in February, scholars standing round my huge camp fire, the wind broken off by the brush and the whole canopy of heaven for covering. Thermometer standing at 7°, one side roasting while the other freezing requiring a continual turning to keep as near as possible an equilibrium of temperature. I would stand with my grammar book, the only one in school, would give out a sentence at a time and pass it around. Notwithstanding these circumstances, I never saw a grammar class learn faster for the time.³⁶

with branches and boards in their hands, uttering loud shouts, and endeavoring to turn back and beat off the invaders. (*The Mormons* [Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852] pp. 30-31).

35. "First General Epistle of the First Presidency," *Millennial Star* 11 (1849): 230. For a more complete account of education in early Utah, see Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: Department of Education of the LDS Church, 1939), pp. 38ff; and Ralph Chamberlin, "The Initial Years," *University of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960).
36. Diary of George Albert Smith, 3 March 1851, typescript of original in BYU Library, Provo, Utah.



Provo Third Ward meetinghouse,
donated to Provo City by
George Albert Smith for use as
a school and church meetinghouse.

An adobe schoolhouse was built in Pleasant Grove in 1852.³⁷ In the same year the Saints in Provo built a home for George Albert Smith, who gave the house back to the town to be used for school and Church meetings. A substantial adobe home, two stories high, with two large rooms on each floor, the building became the "Provo Seminary," serving as a schoolhouse and as the Provo Third Ward meetinghouse.³⁸ Joseph B. Walton gave a lively description of the Provo ward school he attended:

THE HAPPIEST MOMENT OF MY LIFE FROM THAT TIME TO THE PRESENT IS THE THOUGHT OF ONCE GOING TO THE SCHOOL, IT MUST HAVE BEEN ABOUT 1858-9. I had followed some other children. I had my little Primer under my arm One of the big boys led me in. The picture of that school, I see it now. The teacher Bro. R. T. Booth and his wife and sons John E. and James. There may have been about 25 or 30 students. The teacher was kind to me and placed me on the long seat by the fire. The books I saw were a dictionary, Bible, Testament, Book of Mormon, Blue back Spelling book and the *Deseret News*. The bell was a wagon tire, school seats split logs, and they had one long table sloping on both sides for a writing desk. Dances were held here and concerts, Court and all public meetings. . . . The floor of this old log house was of dirt (Not dirty) No it was scrupulously clean. . . . Their chimney was a big flue projecting from the end and was built of stones and clay and extended above the roof. The furniture was in keeping with other things. . . . Two chairs (cane bottoms), three stools, a little table and 2 beds.³⁹

Founding of the University of Deseret

On 28 February 1850 the territorial legislature made provi-

37. Howard R. Driggs, *Timpanogos Town* (Manchester, New Hampshire: Clarke Press, 1948), pp. 117-19.

38. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly* 3 (July 1884): 260.

39. Joseph B. Walton in "The Walton Family Biography," typescript in BYU Archives, Provo, Utah, pp. 18-19.

sion for the establishment of the University of the State of Deseret.⁴⁰ The university was to have “branches in all parts of the state” in order to “provide well-qualified teachers, and books of the most approved kind.” As a territorial institution, it was to provide instructors so that people throughout the state could have “the privilege of acquiring the most perfect education possible, and any useful profession.”⁴¹ Orson Spencer, who succeeded John C. Bennett as chancellor of the University of Nauvoo, was selected to head the University of Deseret, first public school west of the Mississippi. As chancellor, Spencer was executive officer of the university and chairman of its twelve regents.

The prospectus of the new university, written by Chancellor Spencer under direction of the board of regents, reflected the high aspirations of the Mormon leaders to make the University of Deseret a distinguished part of their “kingdom of God.” It was to be treated “like the foundling babe of the Hebrews,” as a “child of providence, destined to live and flourish.” The chancellor’s intent was to make the parent school a repository for worldly knowledge in all fields, a haven where “multitudes of all ages” would “find an asylum of safety and a nursery of arts and sciences available upon the cheapest terms,” where education would “be brought to the . . . laboring classes of every grade — of every religious faith — of every political or social creed, and of every living language.” Whatever was “valuable in the laws and usages of nations . . . or in morals, or in Pagan and Christian ethics” or in “physical laws”

40. Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Historical Department, 28 February 1850 (hereafter cited as Journal History). An early published version of the charter is in *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, 1855, pp. 59-61. The name “Deseret,” which means “honey bee,” is a symbol of industry and thrift taken from the Book of Mormon (Ether 2:3). See *Comprehensive History of the Church* 3:422. “Deseret” would have been the name of the state had Congress not insisted on “Utah” (after the Ute Indians).

41. From a petition to the legislature requesting the incorporation of a university, submitted some time before the legislature met in February 1850. Quoted in Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 5.

was to be “copiously poured into the lap of the Institution.” “Religion, politics, literature, discrepant prejudices, private and public rights of individuals” were to “enjoy the highest order of freedom, of individuality, and of community.” This was to be the “institution and heir of promise . . . the only institution of its kind . . . for all nations.” This comprehensive program of knowledge and learning was to be directed by the “master spirits of the nineteenth century” who were already assembling in response to the gospel call. Students would be taught to “save the good and cast the bad away.” They would study the “path of nature up to nature’s God.” The chancellor hoped that rich men of every nation and of every religious faith would donate generously so that “no persons will be denied the benefits of the University for want of pecuniary means.” To that end, “correspondence will be kept up with persons in the service of the University living in London, Edinburgh, Paris, Rome, Copenhagen and Calcutta.”⁴²

The prospectus, a recapitulation of Mormon educational philosophy, was a restatement of the Mormon dream for the University of Nauvoo. Unfortunately, while the University of Deseret opened temporarily in impoverished quarters in 1850, economic circumstances compelled it to close down completely from 1852 to 1867. It struggled from 1867 to 1869 as a business school and then opened again in 1869, later becoming the University of Utah. It eventually achieved a national reputation as a completely secularized state institution. With the alteration of its original conception, the University of Deseret left its mantle of destiny for another institution of higher learning. As stated by Ralph V. Chamberlin, centennial historian for the University of Utah,

It is clear that the Regents and other leaders during the first years of the Territory expected the University of Deseret to become the greatest of the world’s educational institutions. With the continued influx of new people and influences from the outside and a general breaking down

42. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, pp. 541-42.

of Utah's isolation, it became increasingly clear, however, that Church and State could no longer be conducted essentially as one. . . . The Mormon Church, therefore, soon began to develop its own private educational system, a system having at its head a university for which they were free to picture a supreme destiny such as was initially envisioned for the University of Deseret,⁴³

The new institution of "destiny" turned out to be Brigham Young University, but in 1875 when it came into existence as a mere academy, having only elementary and high school students, no one would have guessed that its future was filled with such great promise. Indeed, even when the University of Deseret again opened its doors in 1867, no one anticipated that the dreams of the founders of that institution would ultimately find fruition in Brigham Young University.

Loyalty to Government

When the Mormons settled in Utah, many nonmembers felt that they would attempt to set up a government independent of the United States. Stephen A. Douglas and Thomas Ford, governor of Illinois, had actually suggested that they do so.⁴⁴ However, on the eve of their expulsion from Nauvoo, Mormon leaders affirmed that "our patriotism has not been overcome by fire — by sword — by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country."⁴⁵ The following summer, as they continued their pilgrimage across the plains to find a new home, the Saints proved their loyalty to the United States by recruiting in one day a 500-man "Mormon Battalion" to serve in the war against Mexico. The battalion made one of the longest infantry marches in history, from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to San Diego, California. The battalion members, "marching half-naked and half-fed, and living upon wild animals," did not have to fight the

43. Ibid., p. 9.

44. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:420-22.

45. Ibid., p. 416.

enemy, but they “discovered and made a road of great value to our country.”⁴⁶

While the Mormon Battalion was marching through the Southwest, Mormon pioneers continued their trek toward Utah. Brigham Young reassured Colonel Thomas L. Kane that the Mormons “would be glad to raise the American flag” in their new land: “We love the Constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the United States Constitution float over us.”⁴⁷ Brigham Young kept his word. Church leaders “raised the stars and stripes in the Salt Lake Valley . . . at least ten months before the authority of the United States was extended over it.”⁴⁸

Deseret: A Haven of Refuge

Many questioned whether the Saints could eke out an existence in the barren Salt Lake Valley. Jim Bridger, the veteran trapper, told Brigham Young he would give “one thousand dollars for a bushel of corn raised in the basin.”⁴⁹ Even twelve years later, Horace Greeley, commenting on the “parched, glistening, blistering, blinding sterility” of the place, declared that if the Mormons had paid the government a penny an acre for the land they had been swindled.⁵⁰

But Brigham Young knew what he wanted. In his opinion, the Mormons needed a refuge — a desolate, barren, refuge where, at least for a while, no one else would care to come. Three times the Mormon people had been totally dispossessed by mobs. Now he hoped they would be left alone long enough to set up a society under the Constitution which would be a base of operations for the preaching of the gospel, the

46. Ibid., p. 120.

47. Ibid., p. 414.

48. Ibid., p. 422.

49. Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young: The Man and His Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1937), p. 94.

50. William R. Palmer, “The Pioneering Mormon,” *Improvement Era* 45 (August 1942): 493. Quoted phrase is Palmer’s summary of Greeley’s impression of the area.

education of their children, and the promulgation of their religious, political, and economic “kingdom of God.” He knew that “it was impossible for any person to live here unless he labored hard and battled and fought against the elements, but it was a first-rate place to raise Latter-day Saints, and we shall be blessed in living here, and shall yet make it like the Garden of Eden.”⁵¹

Wresting Political Control from the Mormons

Almost from the time of the organization of the Church in 1830, the concept of the kingdom of God had been important. Under this system, government appointments, policies, and procedures were determined in Church councils and administered by local ecclesiastical officers. The first governing body in Utah, for instance, was a “municipal high council” appointed by President Brigham Young.⁵² Basically an ecclesiastical unit, the council functioned in civil matters as well. Other governing bodies, such as the original nineteen ecclesiastical wards in the city, were also characterized by their dual role as religious and secular units.⁵³

In 1849 the Latter-day Saints formed their official “State of Deseret” and petitioned Congress for recognition as a state of the Union. The petition was rejected. The Saints were further disappointed when Congress rejected their alternative proposal to set up a territorial government which would have allowed them to enjoy home rule.⁵⁴ Utah was granted territorial status, and Brigham Young was named governor.⁵⁵ However, the chief justice, two associate justices, and the secretary of the territory were all non-Mormons. Difficulties with fed-

51. *Journal of Discourses*, 14:121.

52. Dale Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8 (1940): 234-35. See also *Journal History*, 9 September 1847.

53. A. C. Koritz, “Development of Municipal Government in the Territory of Utah” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), p. 32. See also Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young: The Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 124.

54. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:509.

55. For a detailed discussion, see *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:435-47.

eral officials plagued the Saints for forty years. The first judges, who clashed with the Mormons from the beginning,⁵⁶ withdrew from the territory in anger at the end of September 1851, only three months after their arrival. In 1854 the federal government attempted to replace Brigham Young as governor by appointing Colonel Edward J. Steptoe to that position, but Steptoe moved on to California without even presenting his credentials to the chief justice of the Utah Federal Court. Colonel Steptoe later joined with non-Mormon Chief Justice Kinney in recommending to President Franklin Pierce that Brigham Young be reappointed. This was done.⁵⁷

In 1857 the political situation became critical. On May 28, basing his decision on a few affidavits (primarily those of two scandalized federal judges, William W. Drummond and George P. Stiles), President James Buchanan ordered an army of 2,500 men to march on Utah. They were to quell what President Buchanan called a rebellion against the United States. They were also to install a new governor.⁵⁸ Known as the "Utah Expedition," the project eventually involved 6,600 troops; 10,500 government employees and camp followers; 7,606 wagons; 66,478 working oxen; and 19,200 head of mules, at a cost of between twenty and forty million dollars.⁵⁹

Since this "war" was launched by the president without official investigation or act of Congress, Brigham Young was determined to keep the army out of Utah until he could be assured that the rights of his people would be protected. He therefore insisted that the army remain in Wyoming and that the new governor, Alfred Cumming, proceed with his escort into the territory to ascertain for himself what the true situa-

56. Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), pp. 171-74.

57. "Reappointment of Brigham Young," *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:181-97.

58. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:234-38. See also Charles S. Peterson, "A Historical Analysis of Territorial Government in Utah Under Alfred Cumming, 1857-1861" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958).

59. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:555-56.

tion was. Entering the valley, Cumming found the charge of "rebellion" to be untrue. He found the community "marked by quiet and peaceable diligence."⁶⁰ Cumming reported to General Albert S. Johnston, commander of the troops, that he had been "everywhere recognized as the governor of Utah; and so far from having encountered insults and indignities, I am gratified in being able to state to you that in passing through the settlements, I have been universally greeted with such respectful attention as is due to the representative of the executive authority of the United States in the territory."⁶¹

Allowed to enter the territory, Johnston's Army created problems in public order and good. There was more drunkenness, public brawling, and prostitution than before.⁶² Even Horace Greeley, who was unsympathetic to Mormon views, deprecated the effect of the army in Utah.⁶³ To combat the new influence in the valley, the police department was increased from fifty to two hundred men.⁶⁴

Between 1857 and 1896, when Utah was finally granted statehood, eleven United States presidents appointed eighteen different governors of Utah. Many of them proved to be openly hostile to the society of the Latter-day Saints. The inevitable consequence of Congress refusing to grant statehood and of the reign of these eighteen "foreign" governors who had the appointive power for practically all territorial offices was the denial of home rule to the Saints. The non-Mormons, who accounted for only about ten percent of the population of the territory,⁶⁵ had seized political control from the Mormons.

60. Ibid., p. 511-12.

61. Ibid., p. 384.

62. In his *Outline History of Utah and the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958), Gustive O. Larson recorded that "camp followers introduced 'civilization' through 'whiskey street' in Salt Lake City, and women of the street plied their trade in Mormondom for the first time" (p. 90).

63. Horace Greeley, *Overland Journey* (New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860), p. 234.

64. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:462.

65. Samuel George Ellsworth, *Utah's Heritage* (Santa Barbara, California: Peregrine Smith, 1972), p. 325.

Dilemmas in Education

The powerful federal-gentile coalition began to insist that schools built in Mormon communities with Mormon funds and Mormon labor should be declared public schools and purged of Mormon influence. The Latter-day Saints willingly opened their territorial schools to non-Mormons, but they protested against having to support public schools since they intended to continue sending their children to Mormon schools. They felt that non-Mormons who did not want to attend Mormon schools should rally together and build their own schools without taxing Mormons or forcing the Mormons to give up their own institutions.

Prior to 1860 Church policy had been to have the various wards build school structures in each community and then rely upon tuition fees from students to pay for teachers' salaries, heating, and supplies. However, on 20 February 1860 the *Deseret News* announced that the Church would set up a Mormon high school in Salt Lake City which would be both "public" and "free." This new school, named the Union Academy, was to be built with general Church funds, and Brigham Young intended to use voluntary tithing rather than compulsory taxation or tuition fees to pay the operating costs of the school. Students of all faiths were welcomed to this new public Church school that was free to the pupil. It was made clear, however, that the Mormon philosophy of spiritual-temporal education would be followed. Unfortunately, because of lack of support, the school was short-lived, but it was a Church-financed public school, establishing a pattern that was followed fifteen years later when Brigham Young Academy was founded.

Even the Union Academy plan did not, however, satisfy the gentiles, who insisted on having public schools without religious training. They also wanted tax-supported schools, even though a majority of the taxpayers did not intend to use them. In his 12 November 1860 message to the legislative assembly, Governor Cummings commended the Mormons for having built large and spacious schools but stressed the need for free

public schools.⁶⁶ In December 1861 a new non-Mormon governor, John W. Dawson, advocated free public schools⁶⁷ in order to liberate the minds of Mormon youth:

That mind which is enslaved is not a free agent; nor can it enjoy freedom. When the will is a vassal, nothing is more degrading. A mind not its own cannot be free — it is a slave in chains, though so well gilded as not to be self-seen. And it is in such a state of society that encroachments on private rights are common, and permanent mischief hourly deplored.

Without education and intelligence general and diffuse, the best constitution and government, and laws most wise, can never, in a democratic government, have permanent claims to longevity, nor the people, peace, tranquility or justice.⁶⁸

Opposing “free public schools,” John Taylor, expressing the consensus of Mormon leaders, maintained that the responsibility for educating Mormon children should not be “placed in the hands of the enemies of the Church and Kingdom of God.”⁶⁹ Taylor felt that each religious group should be allowed to educate its children as it saw fit: “I would like to know if a Methodist would send his children to a Roman Catholic school, or vice-versa? I think not. Do either send their children to ‘Mormon’ schools, or employ ‘Mormon’ teachers? I think not. Do we object to it? No, we do not. . . . But would we interfere with other religious denominations? No. Prevent them from sending their children where and to whom they please? No. . . . They can take their course, and we want the same privilege.”⁷⁰

66. Alfred Cummings, Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly of Utah, 12 November 1860, Utah Archives, Salt Lake City, p. 18.

67. The phrase “free public schools” means free to the pupil. Proper terminology would be “tax-supported schools.”

68. John W. Dawson, Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly of Utah, 10 December 1861, Utah Archives, Salt Lake City, p. 9.

69. *Journal of Discourses*, 20:107.

70. *Ibid.*, 19:248-49.

Bible Reading Controversy

Another aspect of this ecclesiastical-political debate came to light in 1870 when federal office holders insisted that neither the Bible nor other religious subjects should be taught in public schools.⁷¹ Using the Bible as a reader, Utah schools were following in the tradition of the New England common schools. Even when New England schools were becoming completely secularized, Horace Mann, secretary of the first Massachusetts State Board of Education, had stated in 1848 that “all affirmations or intimations that I have ever attempted to exclude religious instruction from the schools, or to exclude the Bible from the schools, or to impair the force of that volume . . . are now, and always have been, without substance or semblance of truth. Our system earnestly inculcates all Christian morals; it founds its morals on the basis of religion; it welcomes the religion of the Bible; and in receiving the Bible, it allows it to do what it is allowed to do in no other system, to speak for itself.”⁷² Echoing Horace Mann, Brigham Young stated that the Mormons would not remove the Bible from their schools, even though “the Christian world are actually coming to the point that they will dismiss the Bible from their schools.”⁷³

However, after his visit to Utah Territory in 1875, President Ulysses S. Grant recommended to Congress that all church property in the United States should be taxed to support public schools and that “no sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the state, nation, or by proceeds of any tax levied upon any community.”⁷⁴ Besides infuriating Mormon officials in Utah,

71. For a more detailed discussion of the Bible controversy, see James R. Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah” (Ed. D. diss., Utah State University, 1958).

72. Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, *Church and State in the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 267.

73. *Journal of Discourses*, 13:213.

74. Quoted in Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah,” pp. 258-59.



Fort Utah, built in 1849. This is Samuel Jepperson's interpretation of the appearance of the Provo settlement.

Grant's statement irked the Roman Catholics, who traditionally taught church doctrine in their schools. Consequently, nothing was done to tax church properties, and debate about the place of religious education in public schools continued with full force until the 1890s and, to a lesser extent, into the twentieth century.

Mormon leaders in Utah were not alone in their opposition to the elimination of Bible instruction from public schools. In an 1888 conference of the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, the Reverend C. L. Libby, pastor of the Salt Lake Methodist Church, maintained that "if the Bible should not be in the public schools . . . we are no more a Christian nation than we are a Pagan."⁷⁵ At the same convention, Dr. J. F. Millspaugh, principal of the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute and candidate the following year for the office of superintendent of district schools in Salt Lake County, urged that the only way for the state to prevent "men from becoming bad" was "through careful moral training in the public schools; and this in turn, never has been, and never can be effectually carried out, except by the Christian method, with the Bible as the corner stone of all character building."⁷⁶

Throughout the Bible controversy, Mormon schools in Utah continued teaching from the Bible and the other standard works. As Mormon leaders faced government opposition to their educational ideas, they became even more determined to establish Latter-day Saint schools that would instruct young members of the Church in religious as well as secular matters.

75. C. L. Libby, "Ought the State to Recognize God?" in *The Situation in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Parsons, Kendall & Co., 1888), pp. 65-68.

76. J. F. Millspaugh, "The Education which Utah Needs," *The Situation in Utah*, p. 100.

2

The Dusenberry Brothers: Pioneer Educational Leaders

While Mormon settlers struggled for economic survival, political identity, and religious freedom during the 1860s and 1870s, the Dusenberry brothers, Warren and Wilson, fought to improve educational conditions in Provo. These non-Mormon immigrants founded a school that attracted the interest and support of educators throughout the Territory of Deseret, eventually resulting in the founding of Brigham Young Academy. Though these two brothers did not bring with them the mature pedagogical training of Karl G. Maeser, their successor, they performed an indispensable service to their community. With youthful enthusiasm and sincere civic interest, they helped persuade Utah County citizens to see the importance of education for their children, bridging the gap between pioneer rusticity and grim-sounding pedagogy. The Dusenberrys were imaginative and inspiring teachers who kindled in their pupils a desire for more and better education. Their warm personalities and dedicated effort, as much as their ideas, accounted for their remarkable accomplishments. To them is due belated recognition for the part they played in the history of Brigham Young University.

Dusenberry Family Background

The Dusenberrys were of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry. Warren Newton Dusenberry, the elder of the two brothers, was born in Whitehaven, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, in 1836.¹ Around 1840, about the time the Mormons were building Nauvoo, the Dusenberrys moved to Pike County, Illinois, near Hannibal, Missouri, only a few miles south of the Mormon headquarters.² There Wilson was born in 1841.³ Warren and Wilson's mother Aurilla was converted to Mormonism in 1846, due in large part to the persuasions of her brother Howard Coray, who later became a schoolteacher in Nauvoo and one of the secretaries of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Coray went west with the Mormon pioneers in 1846, but he spent two years in Missouri, delaying his arrival in Provo to 1849. Aurilla, who found that her conversion to Mormonism had aroused strong antagonism on the part of her husband Mahlon Dusenberry, stayed with him and her five children in Illinois until 1860.⁴

While the Dusenberry family lived in Illinois, Warren and Wilson attended district schools and seminaries during the winters and learned farming and carpentry from their father during the summers. In April 1860, when Warren was twenty-three and Wilson was nineteen, the family headed west by ox-team and wagon. The move was prompted by Mahlon's lust for California gold and by Aurilla's desire to live in Zion. After three months crossing the plains by team and wagon, they arrived at Provo on 30 July 1860 for a welcome visit with their Uncle Howard Coray. They stayed until September 7,⁵ and then continued on to Los Angeles, which was still a small, quiet, Latin-cultured community. Six months

1. "Utah County," *Tullidge's Quarterly* 3 (April 1885): 426.

2. Robert Kelly Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry: Prominent Utah Pioneer, Educator, Judge, and Public Servant, 1836-1915," unpublished typescript in Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah, p. 2. Hereafter, Brigham Young Archives at Provo, Utah, will be referred to as BYU Archives.

3. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly* 3 (July 1884): 273.

4. Ibid.

5. Robert K. Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry," p. 3.

later they decided to move north to the gold fields around Sacramento. After settling in Northern California, Warren studied two years at Vacaville College,⁶ a small, new Methodist high school located in Vacaville, Solano County, with an enrollment of 150 students. Meanwhile, Wilson continued his education in the community schools.⁷

The religious conflict which had been simmering in the family for more than twenty years finally erupted in Sacramento. The prospect of raising her family so far away from the center of Mormon culture and having her children exposed to the temptations of mining camps was repugnant to Aurilla Dusenberry. Unable to persuade her husband to leave California, she departed for Provo with Warren, Wilson, and her daughters Mary and Martha Jane ("Mattie"). One other son, John, remained in Sacramento with his father.⁸ Wilson later said he "regretted much leaving California, but my mother wished to come, and we came, and it's all right..⁹" The family rift over religion unfortunately never healed; rather, it widened with the passage of time. Mahlon cautioned his son Wilson to keep himself "free from the curse of Mormonism."¹⁰

Portraits of Pioneer Educators

The Dusenberrys' journals show them to be intelligent,

6. "Utah County," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3: 426.
7. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3: 273.
8. Robert K. Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry," p. 3. Aurilla Dusenberry remained faithful to the Church right up to the time of her death in Provo in 1884. Mary and Martha Jane Dusenberry both married Church members and remained active.
9. Diary of Wilson H. Dusenberry, 28 October 1863. Wilson H. Dusenberry apparently kept at least three different diaries. The first was written in 1863. Dusenberry kept another diary in 1867. A typescript of the diaries of 1863 and 1867 is contained in Harriet Parker Mack's typescript biography of Wilson Howard Dusenberry, a copy of which is on file in the BYU Archives. The second diary, written in 1864, is in possession of Ben Armstrong. A typescript of the 1864 diary in BYU Archives was sent to Ernest L. Wilkinson by Marion Parker Harris on 5 December 1972. Excerpts from the Wilson H. Dusenberry diaries of 1863 and 1867 appear in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958), 1: 231-55.
10. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 25 April 1863.



Warren N. Dusenberry,
founder of the Dusenberry School
and first principal of
Brigham Young Academy.

articulate, sensitive, and sociable. These characteristics, together with their youth and sympathy with the Mormon community, made them popular figures in Provo. Sensing that their academic background would serve the community, the Dusenberrys took up teaching. Although not a member of the Church, Warren was hired as a teacher in the First Ward School conducted in the basement of the local Tabernacle, while Wilson obtained a job in a private school located in a small adobe building on the corner of First East and Second South.¹¹ Their uncle Howard Coray probably helped secure their appointments.

The Dusenberrys entered education at a critical time. Territorial leaders recognized the importance of schooling their children. In April General Conference, 1860, Brigham Young scolded Mormon families for not taking more interest in the education of their children:

Some say they are not able to send their children to school. In such a case, I think I would rise in the morning, wash myself, take a little composition, and try, if possible, to muster strength enough to send my children to school, and pay their tuition like a man. When you have done this, if you are still unable, apply to some of your neighbours to assist you.

Men able to ride in their carriages, and not able or unwilling to pay their children's tuition, ought, I think, to have a little composition, or catnip tea; and then perhaps, they will be able to send their children to school! I know such persons are weak and feeble; but the disease is in the brain and heart — not in the bones, flesh, and blood. Send your children to school.¹²

Utah County citizens were becoming more committed to education. William Miller, presiding bishop of Utah Stake and one of the most influential first generation educators in the valley, advocated the establishment of separate ward schoolhouses, encouraging at the same time a "County Educa-

11. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3:260.

12. *Journal of Discourses*, 8:40.

tion Association.”¹³ However, as was often the case, plans were more easily formulated than realized. As one observer reported, “Alas, for the stability of human enthusiasm. . . . A few loads of rock lying on the ground, is all that can be seen” of the ward schools at Provo.¹⁴ Warren Dusenberry’s spirits remained high. Seeing the need for more adequate materials, he made a trip to Salt Lake City and invested \$50 of his own money to buy texts for the First Ward School.¹⁵

Wilson recorded many of the exultations and “botherations” of working as an educator in a small pioneer town. He worked intermittently, substituting for his older brother in the ward school and teaching in a private school. This first year was difficult, constituting a real baptism by fire for the neophyte teachers. After substituting for Warren in February, Wilson wrote, “The little brats were determined on having a spree. Checked their cheer a little, however.”¹⁶ Warren, who was admittedly the leader, had an instinctively balanced system of discipline in the classroom. Although he favored “less harshness in the school,” he “held the view that education should be made congenial to the pupil, and particularly maintained that the schoolroom should be the exemplar of good manners and proper social conduct.”¹⁷ When punishment was deserved, however, Warren did not hesitate to administer it. One day three boys “disturbed school by kicking at the door.” Warren “caught and whipped them severely.”¹⁸

By March 1863 Wilson was teaching full time at the ward school. Though he struggled to be a successful teacher, he met with disappointments. By the end of the month he had learned that “a teacher needs a false face, so that he can laugh. Some of the scholars told me that they did not like me

13. J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo* (Provo: New Century Printing Co., 1924), pp. 338-39; *Deseret News*, 24 October 1860; *Millennial Star* 16 (1854): 397.

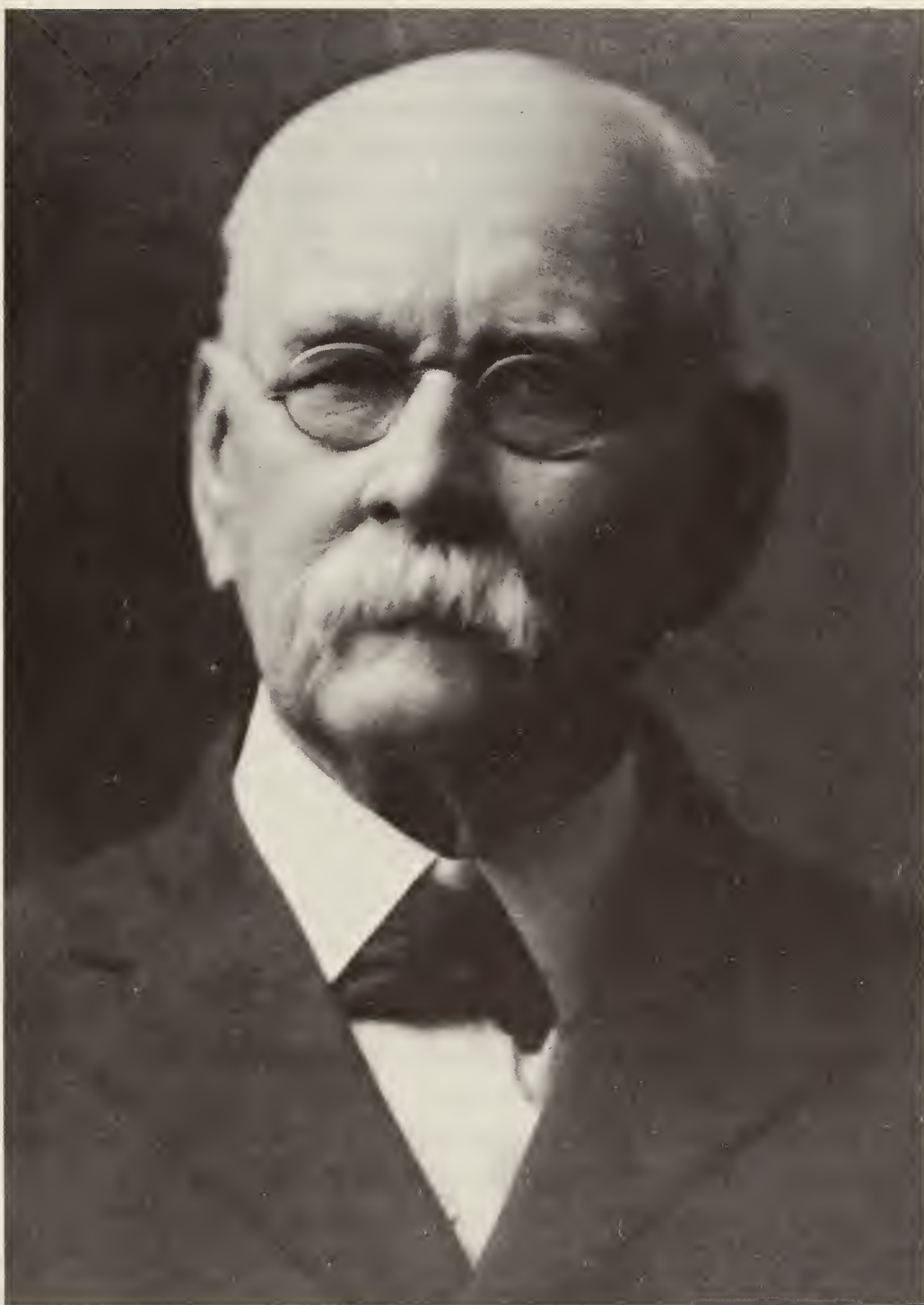
14. “Progress of Events at Provo,” *Deseret News*, 12 September 1860.

15. “History of Provo,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly*, 3:260.

16. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 20 February 1863.

17. “Utah County,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly*, 3:427.

18. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 5 February 1864.



Wilson H. Dusenberry, cofounder of the Dusenberry School and member of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees from 1875 to 1921.

as well as Warren.”¹⁹ In August of the same year the ward school, which was growing rapidly, moved inside the tithing wall to a nice two-story house. According to Wilson, the change was “quite agreeable although reports say that it is haunted.”²⁰ However, he confided that problems with discipline still persisted: “Number of scholars 62, all small. I have an awful time!”²¹

Besides problems with discipline, the ward schools had financial difficulties. Provo citizens were reluctant to pay even the modest tuition required by the First Ward School. Most families lived on farms, and many felt that they could not afford tuition payments for the schooling of their children, while others believed their sons and daughters were needed more in the fields than behind school desks. The Dusenberrys knew bill-collecting was going to be tough, but they didn’t appreciate how futile it would be. Wilson spent considerable time “running around town after school bills,” but it seemed to be of “no use!”²² Despite such difficulties, Wilson enjoyed teaching. He called the last day of classes in November 1863 “a carnival of joy.” As he watched the students trooping out of school, he reflected, “Who can teach school without forming ties of affection? Not I.”²³

While their school financial problems were never fully solved, the Dusenberrys learned to inform and inspire while maintaining discipline in the classroom. Instead of concentrating exclusively on difficult subjects, they promoted theater arts, debates, concerts, and other diversions which made education less tedious. The brothers quickly won the admiration of parents and students alike. In time, “Their fame became known and students came to them in such numbers that they were compelled to move several times from one building to another.”²⁴

19. Ibid., 26 March 1863.

20. Ibid., 24 August 1863.

21. Ibid., 26 August 1863.

22. Ibid., 24 October 1863.

23. Ibid., 6 November 1863.

24. J. C. Moffitt, *A Century of Public Education in Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah, 1944), p. 50.

The First Dusenberry School

By the fall of 1863, Warren Dusenberry had decided to establish a school of his own. He negotiated with the Cluff brothers to rent Cluff Hall for \$50 per month.²⁵ Cluff Hall was “a large adobe building located on the corner of Second North and Second East,”²⁶ spacious enough for the expected large enrollment and particularly well adapted to theatrical productions. Wilson substituted for Warren at the First Ward School when it opened in the fall, giving Warren more time to prepare Cluff Hall for the opening of the Dusenberry School. Warren “fitted the school room and with his own hands made the desks from logs, the very same that were afterwards used in the Brigham Young Academy.”²⁷ And, because he felt that no respectable school could open without the traditional school bell mounted in the yard to “ring in” the students from their customary haunts, sometimes including clockless houses, Wilson spent two weeks in September “scouring town” for a little school bell that he finally located.²⁸

The Dusenberrys’ “Provo High School” or “Dusenberry School” (which was really a private elementary school with “graded” academic levels) opened its doors on 7 December 1863 with eighty-three scholars.²⁹ The school probably opened so late in the year because of delays in preparing the building,³⁰ constructing facilities, and recruiting students. Many students would not leave the farms until the fall harvest was complete.

Being the only teachers, administrators, and janitors,³¹ the Dusenberrys were forced to live at the school. When the Cluffs provided a bedstead, a substantial improvement over the hard floor, weary Wilson Dusenberry recorded in his

25. “Utah County,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly*, 3:427.

26. Joseph B. Walton, “Stories: Pioneer Trails and Landmarks,” typescript at Church Historical Department. The license to use Cluff Hall was granted by the Provo City Council on 6 December 1864.

27. “History of Provo,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly*, 3:260.

28. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 9 and 17 September 1863.

29. *Ibid.*, 22 December 1863.

30. *Ibid.*, 2 December 1863.

31. Moffitt, *Century of Education in Provo*, p. 49.

journal, “Wonderful!”³² While the eastern part of the United States was engulfed in the fury of civil war, the most exciting event in pioneer Provo, Utah, was the opening of the Dusenberry School.

The school barely got started in time for Christmas vacation. The Dusenberrys used the break to rearrange the “desks and rostrum to the east end of the hall” and to buy more lumber to construct additional desks.³³ Classes began again during the first week of January 1864. On January 5 the temperature sank to twenty below zero. The school stove was so inadequate that students had to be sent home, and the school was temporarily closed.³⁴ A better stove was installed, and school opened again on January 7. However, “The young-uns kicked the [new] stove down,”³⁵ extending their vacation for a few more days. The exasperated Dusenberrys finally repaired the damages, and by January 11 Wilson felt the school was “jogging along very well. The stove’s [doing] its duty.”

The two brothers divided the ambitious curriculum of the school between them. Subjects included grammar,³⁶ geography, algebra, declamation (public speaking and elocution), essays (composition), arithmetic, fundamentals of architecture, reading, spelling, and music, taught by James Daniels, a guest teacher.³⁷ Warren, with his Vacaville College background, taught the upper grades, while Wilson instructed the younger students.³⁸

The Dusenberrys encouraged individual student participation, providing diversified extracurricular events to stimulate student interest, resulting in greater excellence in scholar-

32. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 17 December 1863.

33. Ibid., 11 December 1863.

34. Ibid., 5 January 1864.

35. Ibid., 7 January 1864.

36. Commenting on a rumor that the Dusenberrys “knew nothing of grammar,” Wilson retorted in his diary, “Such froth of ill humor is contemptuous in the extreme” (11 December 1863).

37. This James Daniels is not to be confused with James E. Daniels, who helped organize the second Dusenberry School in 1869.

38. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 8 December 1863.

ship, more regular attendance, and better class discipline. They supported a number of special programs. Within a month after the school opened, Wilson had established a Literary Society which met in the evenings to discuss current events, history, science, social problems, and mathematics.³⁹ The purpose of the society was to allow students, teachers, and guest speakers to discourse publicly on various subjects. On 1 February 1864 Wilson gave his first declamation, entitled "Uses of History."⁴⁰ The society also offered opportunity for debate. At one February session in 1864, Wilson led a debate on the topic: "Has the Negro or the American Indian more cause to complain of his treatment by whites?" Wilson, arguing that the Negro had received the harsher treatment, won the debate.⁴¹

To encourage physical education, the brothers played ball with their students.⁴² Since Warren played the accordion⁴³ and Wilson the violin,⁴⁴ it was also natural for them to encourage music by organizing a band,⁴⁵ Wilson, then unmarried, was delighted with the Mormon practice of supervised dancing: "If it is a sin to love to dance, then there is no redemption for me."⁴⁶

Dramatic performances were well attended and enthusiastically received by early Provo residents.⁴⁷ The plays were usually melodramas or farces which produced either floods of

39. Ibid., 7 January 1864 and 1 February 1864.

40. Ibid., 1 February 1864.

41. Ibid., 8 February 1864. Twenty-two years before Wilson's debate, Joseph Smith debated the same issue with John C. Bennett, chancellor of the University of the City of Nauvoo. At that time, Joseph Smith maintained that the American Indians were the more aggrieved group (*History of the Church*, 4:501).

42. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 17 May 1864.

43. Diary of Harriet Coray Dusenberry, 6 April 1864, photographic copy of the original in BYU Library Manuscript Collection.

44. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 1 August 1864.

45. Ibid., 15 January 1864.

46. Ibid., 3 June 1864.

47. "History of the Provo Fourth Ward," unpublished typescript at the Church Historical Department, p. 24. See also Burnett B. Ferguson, "History of Drama in Provo, 1853-1897" (M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952).

tears or peals of laughter, providing an escape from the drudgery of living on the frontier. The school's first large stage presentation was in the form of an "exhibition" produced in March 1864. Wilson's future wife, Harriet Coray, after visiting a rehearsal, noted that the "scholars seem to take great interest in their parts, and I think they will play them well. Cousin Mattie [Martha Jane Dusenberry] almost surprises me. Indeed, she is quite an actress."⁴⁸ Wilson, writing in his journal, captured the breathless excitement of this first stage production: "Hastened to the Hall. Prepared it for the exhibition and theater. Scholars were all there. A little rehearsal. . . . Eve came at last. The Hall was chuck full of the elite of Provo. We, the school, were crammed on the stage. Warren got excited and I, well I can't tell all I did. The scholars, I think did very well."⁴⁹ The next day Wilson jubilantly recorded, "The town loved it!" According to Tullidge, "A great change took place in society, effected by the Dusenberry school and the theater, improving the status and conduct of the whole."⁵⁰

The new school was very popular. Though the capacity of the school was 103 students, 120 eager young pupils came trooping in for the spring term of 1864, and some had to be turned away.⁵¹ Along with Wilson, Warren, who was described as "a young man, dignified, refined and gentle in appearance,"⁵² did much to modify the adverse image of small-town schoolteachers. The Dusenberry brothers were more than log-school pedagogues. Indeed, their social appeal and lively interest in forensics, drama, music, and dancing motivated Provo citizens to fulfill Brigham Young's admonition to seek learning and advance culture.

New Religious Commitments

Shortly after their new school was successfully launched,

48. Diary of Harriet C. Dusenberry, 10 March 1864.

49. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 11 March 1864.

50. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3:260.

51. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 7 December 1863 and 11 April 1864.

52. "Walton Family Biography," 6 December 1865.

Warren and Wilson Dusenberry independently decided that their mother and their uncle Howard Coray had been right about Mormonism. Wilson was apparently ready for baptism early in 1864,⁵³ but he waited for Warren, who delayed his decision until his inquiring mind was entirely satisfied. On 24 July 1864, seventeen years to the day after the Saints arrived in Salt Lake Valley, Wilson wrote in his journal: "Oh, how Warren surprised me this morning by saying that he was going to be baptized. Was shocked, pleased, and fearful. . . . Mr. McDonald baptized us." They were confirmed the following day.

The brothers were sincere and prayerful in their religious commitment. Like most Mormons, however, they did not feel they had sacrificed their freedom in pledging themselves to this new faith. On one occasion prior to his baptism, Wilson had been very critical of some of the sermons of Apostle Orson Hyde and of the administrative firmness of Brigham Young.⁵⁴ However, this did not deter him from joining the Church once he had decided for himself that Mormonism was the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. His conversion was founded on the doctrines of the Church, not on the personality of any individual. Warren and Wilson were very active in the Church in spite of their numerous commercial ventures and community enterprises. Both were ordained seventies in February 1867.⁵⁵

53. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 17 April 1864.

54. *Ibid.*, 30 August 1863. Wilson thought some of Orson Hyde's statements were "very contemptible." He called Brigham Young a "ruler and dictator in Israel." It is, however, a Dusenberry family tradition that Brigham Young stayed with Warren Dusenberry on the Prophet's trips southward (see an untranscribed taped interview with the Robert Kelly Dusenberry family on file in BYU Archives). Brigham Young was undoubtedly acquainted with the Dusenberry brothers (*see* Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 8 July 1864).

55. *Ibid.*, 1 February 1867. The priesthood office of "seventy" in the LDS Church is a special missionary calling. In the last half of the nineteenth century, seventies were often called to leave home and family to preach the gospel in some corner of the world without compensation.

Closing of the Dusenberry School

Before a year of work was completed the school proved to be successful and popular, even though the Dusenberrys were becoming increasingly involved in outside enterprises. Brigham Young, after his visit to Provo on a tour south, wrote to William H. Dame, a prominent Parowan businessman and president of Parowan Stake, of his pleasure in “observing a growing disposition among the Saints to encourage education and other useful and pleasing studies.”⁵⁶

To increase the teaching force, Warren sent for Frank Stone, a friend from California who became an assistant at the school. Stone had a reputation for brilliance and ability.⁵⁷ Warren and Frank Stone taught in the Dusenberry School while Wilson supplemented his income by teaching seventy-five students in the Fourth Ward School.

Though the Dusenberry School was successful, by the end of the spring term, 1865, general financial conditions in Provo were retarding local schools and distracting the Dusenberrys from their interests in education. School districts appointed special school boards to supervise maintenance and repair of facilities, but they supplied few funds for education.⁵⁸ Provo was slow to accept any tax imposed for school purposes. George W. Brimhall (father of George H. Brimhall), at this time one of the local private teachers, complained of his “meagre materials and \$3.00 tuition per year and openly requested public financing of free schools.”⁵⁹ As president of the county board of education,⁶⁰ Warren Dusenberry at-

56. Brigham Young to William H. Dame, 30 November 1864, Church Historical Department.

57. During the hard-fought campaign for mayor of Provo in 1892, political opponents of Warren Dusenberry attempted to show that it was the “genius” Frank Stone who was the real force behind the Dusenberry School (*see Utah Enquirer*, November 1892).

58. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 28 March 1864.

59. George W. Brimhall to George Albert Smith, December 1868, George W. Brimhall Family Records, Church Historical Department. In addition to the LDS ward schools, there were several struggling private schools in Provo, including schools operated by John Royal, Melissa Riggs, M. A. Watson, and George W. Brimhall.

60. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 22 March 1867.

tempted to coordinate ward and private schools to insure a standard of quality in teachers, curriculum, and textbooks, and to insure better financial support for schools. Nevertheless, local schools were forced to subsist on extremely limited funds.

When tuition payments were made, more often than not they were made in commodities or services rendered in lieu of cash. To further complicate matters for the Dusenberrys, the rent for Cluff Hall jumped from \$50 to \$125 per month.⁶¹ Thus, financially oppressed, the Dusenberrys were forced to farm during school vacations, and Warren, following his legal inclination, began serving on the grand jury and in other civic positions. In 1867 the Dusenberry brothers set up a general store, took over the Provo telegraph agency, and helped maintain the Provo Post Office. In addition to this, Warren was appointed county tax assessor under George W. Bean. He was also appointed county school examiner and supervisor of the county road district. Wilson, commenting on his brother's activities, quipped, "I believe that he will get sick of some of his offices in the course of time."⁶² Thus, discouraged by the financial difficulty of operating a school and distracted by their outside interests, the Dusenberrys closed their school at the end of the spring term, 1865, and did not open it again until the fall of 1869.

Interim Activities

On 7 April 1867 Warren was called on a Church proselyting mission to the Southern States.⁶³ While Warren was successfully employing his energies as a missionary, Wilson worked in the store, the telegraph, and the post office, supervising a number of community cultural activities at the same time.⁶⁴

61. Ibid., 30 December 1866. See also "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3:260.

62. Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 22 March 1867.

63. Robert K. Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry," pp. 5-10.

64. Warren's missionary journal, a photographic copy of which is in the BYU Library, is his only known journal. It shows him to be a man of intelligence, faith, and character; a constant and devoted laborer; and a man of sensitive perception.



Provo Center Street in the 1870s,
taken from the mill race at
Second West. The Lewis Building
is at the far left.

After serving for a year in the Southern States, Warren was assigned to work with the Church's immigration office in Brooklyn, gathering the Latter-day Saints in the East and preparing them for their westward migration. Under the direction of Elder W. C. Staines, he spent considerable time in Pennsylvania, St. Louis, and Nebraska. Dusenberry was efficient and dedicated. In a letter to President Brigham Young he expressed his "consolation and joy" as a "bearer of Truth to the benighted world."⁶⁵ He returned to Provo some time in the fall of 1869, bringing James E. Daniels to assist him in the establishment of the second Dusenberry School.

Organization of the Second Dusenberry School

In the fall of 1869 the Dusenberrys and their southern associate organized their new school in the Kinsey Building on Provo's Center Street, "teaching nothing below the third grade."⁶⁶ Enrollment increased so rapidly that they soon found themselves with insufficient space and were forced to "expand the school to include the vacant rooms and amusement hall of the building then known as the Lewis Hall."⁶⁷ Besides the new school, Warren participated in other educational projects. In 1871 the county loaned him money to purchase "a law library for the residents of the County."⁶⁸

Though few records of the second Dusenberry School were preserved, it probably operated about like the first Dusenberry School. The school's success, demonstrated by its high enrollment and expanding influence on neighboring ward

65. Dusenberry to Young, Brigham Young Papers, box 56, folder 1, Church Historical Department.

66. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3:261.

67. Ibid. The J. W. Lewis Store and theatre of brick was completed in the late summer of 1867 (Diary of W. H. Dusenberry, 18 September 1867). J. W. Lewis, who did not own but merely leased the hall from President Brigham Young, was only too happy to rent the building to the Dusenberry School, since he was at least \$1600 in debt to Brigham Young (Brigham Young to J. W. Lewis, 24 November 1869, Brigham Young Papers, Church Historical Department).

68. Utah County Court Records, 5 December 1870, book B, Utah County Courthouse, Provo, Utah, p. 57.



Warren N. Dusenberry
(third from left) in New York
City around 1869 with other
officials of the LDS Church's
Perpetual Emigration Fund.

schools, made Provo in general and the second Dusenberry School in particular the focal point of a solid county educational system. The growing success of the school attracted attention from key Church and territorial educational leaders, and Provo soon became one of the most important centers of education in the territory.

3

The Founding of Brigham Young Academy: 1870-1876

Founding the Timpanogos Branch

When the University of Deseret “received a newness of life” through financial rejuvenation and opened its doors again in March 1869,¹ its officials began to consider the establishment of branches of the school. The widespread popularity of the second Dusenberry School made it a prime candidate as the first branch school. According to Abraham O. Smoot, it was recognized as “the best school in the Territory.”² Barely, therefore, had the second Dusenberry School been launched when it was visited by Daniel H. Wells, chancellor of the University of Deseret. Robert L. Campbell, territorial superintendent of schools, also visited Provo to inspect the operation of the school.³ Both men were favorably impressed,

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1. *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools for the Years 1874-5* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1876).
 2. Minutes of Utah Stake Bishops Meetings, 25 April 1871, Church Historical Department.
 3. In 1865 Campbell was appointed superintendent of common schools by the chancellor of the University of Deseret. He remained in that position until 1866, when he was elected territorial superintendent by a joint session of the Legislative Assembly of Utah. He held office until his sudden death on 11 April 1875. Besides being chancellor of the University of Deseret, Daniel H. Wells was a member of the First

and they recommended that the Dusenberry School become a branch of the University of Deseret.⁴ Within a month of the recommendation the Dusenberry School was transformed into the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret without interruption of classwork.⁵ In June 1870 Bishop Myron Tanner, Provo businessman; Bishop A.K. Thurber of Spanish Fork; and Bishop Leonard E. Harrington of American Fork were appointed as the executive committee of the school.⁶ "Provo Branch of the University of the State of Deseret"⁷ was selected as a name for the school, but under the sponsorship of Brigham Young the name was soon changed to "Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret."⁸

Brigham Young supported the project from its beginning. He owned the Lewis Building, which was to house the school.⁹ He looked upon the establishment of what became locally known as the "County" or "Dusenberry" Academy¹⁰ with benevolent interest. To keep the school alive, he waived the cost of rent on a number of occasions and probably made other financial contributions. Abraham O. Smoot mentioned that "Pres. Young's patronage extended to several hundred dollars. . . . He has given the people in their poverty the rent of the school house."¹¹ Warren Dusenberry was equally grateful.¹²

Although functioning as both teacher and administrator

Presidency of the Church.

4. Journal History, 20 March 1870.
5. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools*, 1876, BYU Special Collections, p. 11.
6. L. E. Harrington to "Respected Brother Jacques," *Millennial Star* 32 (1870):379.
7. Journal History, 20 March 1870.
8. Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret, 6 May 1870, microfilm copy in University of Utah Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City, Utah.
9. Brigham Young to Warren Dusenberry, 5 April 1875, Brigham Young Papers, Church Historical Department. *See also* Utah County Court Records, 18 October 1875.
10. Untranscribed taped interview with Wilson Maurice Dusenberry, 23 July 1972, BYU Archives.
11. Minutes of Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meetings, 25 April 1871, Church Historical Department.
12. *Daily Enquirer* (Provo, Utah), 4 January 1892.

from the inauguration of the Timpanogos Branch in June, Warren was not officially assigned by the University of Deseret as principal until 18 November 1870. At that time he chose T.B. Lewis (who later became territorial commissioner of education), Abner Keeler, and Wilson Dusenberry, all experienced teachers, as his assistants. Besides these immediate aides, Dusenberry later chose Frank E. Stone and John E. Booth to teach at the school.¹³ Booth began teaching at the Timpanogos Branch in May 1871.¹⁴

Fortunately, the school had a highly competent staff. Warren Dusenberry, the nominal administrator, was never able to function as full-time principal. In 1871 the Church sent him to New York for a year to work with the emigration office. Upon his return, he was so busy with his law practice and civic duties that he was often absent from the school.¹⁵

The Timpanogos Branch received enthusiastic support from the start, and soon, with 300 students, its enrollment surpassed the University of Deseret.¹⁶ Enrollment remained around 300 until the 1874-75 school year, when the figure dropped to 221.¹⁷ Even during that year its 221 students compared with only 116 students enrolled at the parent institution in Salt Lake City.¹⁸ Fewer of the Timpanogos Branch students, however, were enrolled in advanced courses.¹⁹

The Timpanogos Branch was more than just a school. Its assembly hall was frequently used for public lectures, theatrical productions, and community dances. A number of informal teachers institutes were also held at the school, and it became an unofficial training center for the county schools, with Judge Dusenberry acting as a hiring agent for teachers in the common schools.²⁰

13. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 80.

14. Elsie Dee Adams, *John Edge Booth* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1962), p. 27.

15. In 1874 he was appointed county probate judge. His energies were also absorbed by business ventures.

16. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 8.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

20. "Walton Family Biography," p. 33.

Operation of the Timpanogos Branch

The Timpanogos Branch continued to rent the old Lewis Hall, a two-story brick building located at the corner of Third West and Center. Students sat on wooden benches “bare of paint”²¹ and endured other hardships characteristic of pioneer schools. Between 1870 and 1872 the Lewis Building was the only facility of the Timpanogos Branch. In 1872 contiguous building space was rented.²² On 28 August 1872 Brigham Young acquired more property adjacent to the Lewis Building from Provo City through Mayor Abraham O. Smoot. The city, happy to see the land used for the benefit of education, received a token price of four dollars for the property.²³ This transaction included lots two, three, four, and five in block sixty-nine of Plat A which, with the Lewis Building, amounted to approximately one acre.

John Booth and Frank Stone kept students hard at their tasks. Joseph Walton, who attended the Timpanogos Branch, described a typical morning at the school:

The great bell in the tower of the building rings out its get ready signal. Its clear tones could be heard all over the city. I notice students moving from all directions towards the school. They all seem to be in a hurry to get there to choose their seats and seatmates. The seats were double, comfortable and convenient. I am also ready and off I go with lively step ½ block east from my boarding-house. I enter the west door and climb a long flight of stairs. On reaching the landing to my surprise who should I see? Why it is Judge John E. Booth, my fellow townsman and teacher and friend. The Judge had been engaged as a teacher in the school. He took great pleasure to call me to the rostrum when he introduced me to all the other teachers and assigned me a seat in the auditorium. At 9:55 A.M. the bell rang out again, its last call, and in five

21. Susa Young Gates, “President A.O. Smoot,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (1892):434.

22. *Deseret News*, 11 November 1872.

23. A photocopy of the original deed is in BYU Archives.

minutes the school was called to order by the Principal, Warren N. Dusenberry. His brother, Wilson, read a chapter from the Psalms and offered a few words of prayer. Introductory comments were made by the Principal. My, but I think I see him now and hear him still after 61 long years have passed. . . . He made me understand all he said in his 10 minute address. He said: "Young Ladies and Gentleman. Today the sun's rays are vertical to the equator. This is the day of the vernal equinox. The springtime of life is here. All nature cries aloud through her works, young Ladies and Gentlemen. Learn of her ways and be wise." . . . He has the greatest power of uplift I have ever seen in any one man.²⁴

Dedicated students like George Brimhall, future president of Brigham Young University, came to the school from many neighboring towns. Though the school apparently had no organized pedagogical course for common school teachers, it did coordinate inservice training sessions for county instructors. The Utah County Teachers Association, which had met in periodical conventions since 1860, was formally organized under the guidance of the Timpanogos Branch in 1871.²⁵ Following Dusenberry tradition, the school staged many theatrical productions and conducted numerous dances and festivities.²⁶ Academic terms added together took up ten months of the year,²⁷ in keeping with Warren's philosophy that students should be kept in school "during spring and some of the summer months."²⁸

Influence of Local Leaders

Like most pioneer Utah schools, the Dusenberry Timpanogos Branch was operated essentially as a Church institu-

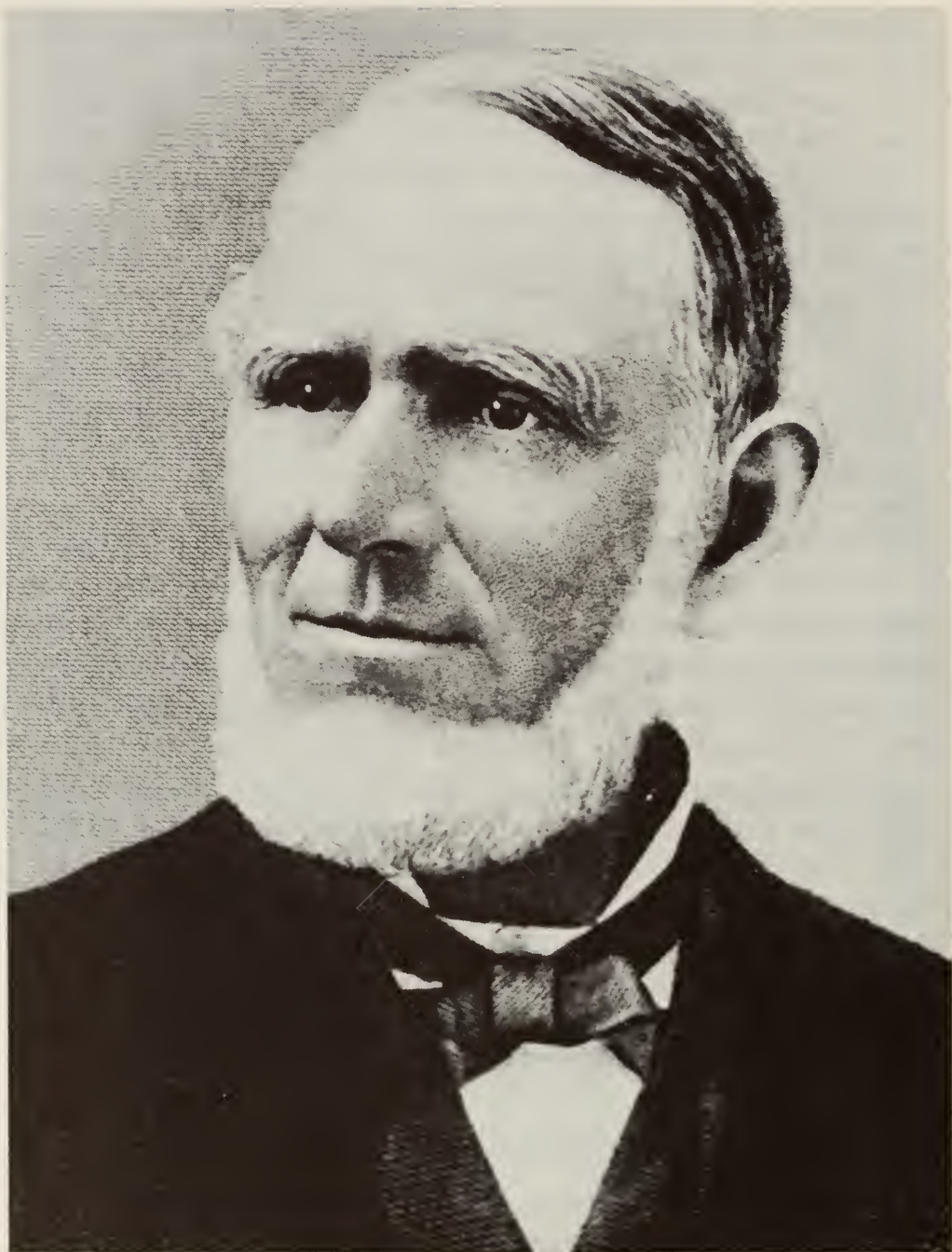
24. "Walton Family Biography," p. 32.

25. *Deseret News*, 22 November 1871.

26. Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meeting Minutes, 24 December 1872.

27. Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, 1875, p. 14.

28. Minutes of the Utah Stake School of the Prophets, 11 February 1871, Church Historical Department.



Abraham O. Smoot, president of
Utah Stake from 1868 to 1895
and first president of the Brigham
Young Academy Board of Trustees.

tion where students, in addition to their secular training, were schooled in the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and other Christian doctrines. Indeed, the school's policies were probably determined more by the high council of the Utah Stake and by top officials of the Church than by the officers of the University of Deseret.

Since Utah Stake composed the same geographical area as the county and many churchmen were also political leaders, they exercised both secular and ecclesiastical authority in the valley. Exemplifying this unity of church and civil authority, Abraham O. Smoot, mayor of Provo and president of Utah Stake, had been called by Brigham Young to leave his mayorship in Salt Lake City and go south to Provo.²⁹ Susa Young Gates, daughter of Brigham Young, said that when Brigham Young "was casting about for a strong hand to send to the wheel in the storm tossed Utah Stake, he laid his hand upon the . . . arm of Mayor Smoot."³⁰ A banker, colonizer, financier, legislator, merchant, delegate to territorial conventions, large-scale cattle and sheep man, bishop, stake and mission president, Smoot was one of the most influential men in the kingdom. Most important for this study, this native Kentuckian was a friend to education, Brigham Young Academy in particular. When Warren Dusenberry was told that Provo was to be the permanent home of Abraham Owen Smoot, he knew that Smoot's presence would mean active aid to the educa-

29. Editor's Note: According to Smoot family tradition, A.O. Smoot balked at accepting the assignment to move to Provo. Dean James Parker Hall of the University of Chicago Law School visited Ernest L. Wilkinson in 1926 when President Wilkinson was a student at Harvard Law School and told him that Smoot protested to Brigham Young that he could not go to Provo because he was mayor of Salt Lake City. He was also a federal officeholder; he had already served three missions for the Church, during which time he and his family had suffered real privations; and he had finally built a new home that suited the needs of his family. He thought Brigham Young's request to resign his positions, give up his leadership in Salt Lake City, have his family forego the luxury of their new home, and move to Provo was unreasonable. President Brigham Young turned to Smoot and said, "You can either go to Provo or you can go to Hell." Smoot chose to go to Provo.

30. Gates, "Smoot," p. 433.

tional institutions of Provo. Smoot continually used his fortune to assist education. He often used his influence as stake president to overcome difficulties which might have otherwise destroyed higher education in Provo. From the time he arrived in 1868 until his death in 1895, he was the administrative, spiritual, and civic leader of the Provo community.³¹

President Smoot and other leaders relied on the Timpanogos Branch to help give Utah County youth the moral instruction they needed. Smoot noticed the wayward tendencies of youth in Provo and cautioned the community against letting their children "grow up at will like the wild asses' colt."³² Eliza Snow, president of the Women's Relief Society of the Church, speaking before a gathering of women at Provo, deplored the fact that "boys born in the Priesthood were going around the street on Sunday with a cigar in their mouths," and that the girls, aping the styles of the outside world, dressed with a "parcel of rags" on their backs, looking "more like a dromedary than anything else."³³ Warren Dusenberry³⁴ and J. Jacques echoed the same sentiment, the latter fearing that young people would become "Gadianton Robbers [to] strike fear in the hearts of the citizenry."³⁵ There was general concern that some of the idle and ignorant youth of Provo were contributing little to the community.³⁶ It was expected that the Timpanogos Branch would be of real service to the Church in correcting this situation. Bishops, in particular, affirmed that a healthy educational institution, if governed by the principles of moral integrity, would greatly benefit the community.³⁷

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31. See appendices for a biographical sketch of Abraham Owen Smoot.
 32. Minutes of the Utah Stake School of the Prophets, 11 November 1871.
 33. Provo Ward Records, 11 September 1871, Church Historical Department.
 34. Minutes of Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meetings, 21 November 1871.
 35. Minutes of the Utah Stake School of the Prophets, 22 July 1871.
 36. For a general review of the pranks and follies of Provo youth at this time, see the "Walton Family Biography."
 37. See Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meeting Minutes, 21

In addition to these moral concerns, local authorities had even more pragmatic designs for education. In July 1871, before a general gathering of priesthood bearers in the Utah Stake, President Smoot lamented the lack of “surgeons and legal advisors” in Provo, stating that “we have been bungling along, have raised families and sons, but have never tried to have them instructed in these subjects.”³⁸ In conference after conference and priesthood session after priesthood session, Smoot urged that it was the duty of priesthood bearers to pay the tuition and fees of the Timpanogos Branch in order to build “Zion in its glory,” to develop surgeons, bookkeepers, plasterers, and mechanics,³⁹ to teach children to leave the arduous labors of the mines and railroads and learn the “arts of trade.”⁴⁰ Echoing the pragmatism of Brigham Young, Smoot implored, “Now, fathers, send your sons to school; give them a good education [and] put them to learn a trade or profession.” George Albert Smith exhorted, “It is our duty to send our children to school and then pay the tuition bill.”⁴¹ Though the Timpanogos Branch was not equipped to accomplish all these objectives itself, it nevertheless was attempting to train Latter-day Saint youth at home rather than in eastern “finishing schools”⁴² or in the Protestant and Catholic schools being established in Utah.

Smoot continued to “watch this school with a jealous eye.”⁴³ The school at least partly lived up to the expectations of Church leaders. In a bishops meeting in November 1871, J.H. Loveless spoke of the success he had in his own family from sending his children to the Dusenberry School. He advised all stake members to “send their children there.”⁴⁴ Bishop

November 1871 (statement of J.H. Loveless); and 25 April 1871 (statement of Myron Tanner).

38. Minutes of the Utah Stake School of the Prophets, 22 July 1871.

39. *Ibid.*, 1 April 1871.

40. Utah Stake Historical Records, 11 December 1870, Church Historical Department.

41. Minutes of the Utah Stake School of the Prophets, 22 July 1872.

42. Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meeting Minutes, 24 July 1872.

43. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 25 April 1871.

44. *Ibid.*, 12 November 1871.

Myron Tanner, a prominent business and religious figure in Provo, also believed that the Timpanogos Branch “had proved a success.”⁴⁵

The Timpanogos Branch Goes Down

In 1873 Territorial Superintendent Robert L. Campbell stated that “the Timpanogos Branch . . . is in fine condition,”⁴⁶ but from its founding the school had great financial difficulties. Since it was a branch of the University of Deseret, it would normally look to its parent institution for help. But the latter was having financial difficulties of its own and could be of little assistance,⁴⁷ for the territorial legislature granted it only meager operating funds,⁴⁸ and Washington refused to give it the financial aid ordinarily extended to territorial schools.⁴⁹ At first the Utah County Court had come to the rescue and willingly appropriated hundreds of dollars to the Timpanogos Branch for needed materials and equipment.⁵⁰ So long as this assistance continued in any substantial amount and so long as Brigham Young waived the rent, the school survived. Although the county appropriated the school funds for an organ in 1875,⁵¹ the territorial legislature was becoming “adverse to any more special appropriations for our institution.”⁵²

Had townspeople faithfully paid tuition expenses and other costs, the lack of territorial aid might not have hurt the school, but as it was, tuition was paid in kind, and teachers were compelled to “make monthly peregrinations with huge wheelbarrows to collect the school fees paid in turnips, molas-

45. Ibid., 25 April 1871.

46. George Albert Smith Family Records, 11 May 1873, Church Historical Department.

47. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, pp. 95-97, 115-17.

48. Wilson H. Dusenberry to Brigham Young, 5 April 1875, Brigham Young Papers, box 59, folder 5, Church Historical Department.

49. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 134.

50. Utah County Court Records, 6 December 1870.

51. Ibid., Book B, March 1876.

52. W.H. Dusenberry to Brigham Young, 5 April 1875, Brigham Young Papers.

ses, and pumpkins.”⁵³ Compounding problems, the executive committee, consisting of three bishops in three separate towns, was too spread out to effectively administer school matters. Warren Dusenberry’s chronic absence also hurt the school.⁵⁴ In April 1875 Smoot again implored his fellow townsmen to pay the tuition, promising them they could do it “if they set their hearts upon it,” but his plea was of little avail.⁵⁵

Finally, at the beginning of April 1875, Wilson Dusenberry informed Brigham Young of the problems the branch was having, indicating that the school could not go on:

Since the organization in May 1870 A.D. until the present time, we have been able to conduct the same by having the rent paid through Legislative appropriations. The receipts, through tuition and otherwise are not sufficient to meet the other expenses.

In view of this, and being informed that there is a feeling adverse to any more special appropriations for our institution — involving the probability of the rent not being paid through this channel — we deem it proper to herewith advise you of the situation. And to further state that we deem it proper to express our willingness to surrender the building at any time you may direct; believing that an indefinite suspension would result in good; as our community would then move in the matter energetically, either by purchase or otherwise.”⁵⁶

On the back of the letter, President Young’s secretary Albert Carrington wrote, “Go on as heretofore or formally deliver up the building, whichever you wish.” Warren Dusenberry recalled that the teachers “became wearied on account of the financial non-success, and we vacated the premises.”⁵⁷

53. Gates, “Smoot,” p. 434.

54. See George Albert Smith Family Records, 25 November 1872 and 25 December 1873.

55. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 25 April 1875.

56. Wilson H. Dusenberry to Brigham Young, 5 April 1875, Brigham Young Papers.

57. *Daily Enquirer*, 4 January 1892.

In effect, Brigham Young's decision not to provide more financial support sealed the doom of the school, which needed the continuing patronage of a strong figure like the President of the Church to survive. However, Brigham Young assured Warren Dusenberry that he had decided to endow a new institution of learning "with sufficient means to make it an honor to the Territory and her people."⁵⁸ This new institution was to rise phoenixlike from the ashes of the Timpanogos Branch. Dusenberry himself was set to work drawing up plans for the new school.

A New Educational Plan

The plans for this new school were not hastily laid, nor were they the product of fleeting administrative whimsy. They represented Brigham Young's long-standing vision of a school system for Utah which, in addition to supplying the benefits of a traditional education, would also insure the Church's influence over its youth. This had been one of President Young's chief interests and concerns since the Church's earliest days in Utah. In 1871 he commissioned John R. Park to study educational systems in the the Eastern States, England, France, and Switzerland. On 19 August 1873 John Rocky Park, Joseph A. Young, David McKenzie, Robert L. Campbell, and Joseph Rawlins met "to consider preliminary measures for the establishment of a college or university by Brigham Young. Joseph A. Young states that his father proposes to give for the establishment of an educational institution, 3 or \$4,000, to turn over his farm four miles from the city and to give the proceeds of the theatre, amounting to \$10,000 for its support. How to establish or organize the institution was discussed, the character the institution would assume was considered."⁵⁹

Though the contemplated school was not immediately established, Brigham Young clearly intended to finance a uni-

58. Ibid.

59. Diary of John Rocky Park, 19 August 1873, microfilm copy in BYU Library.

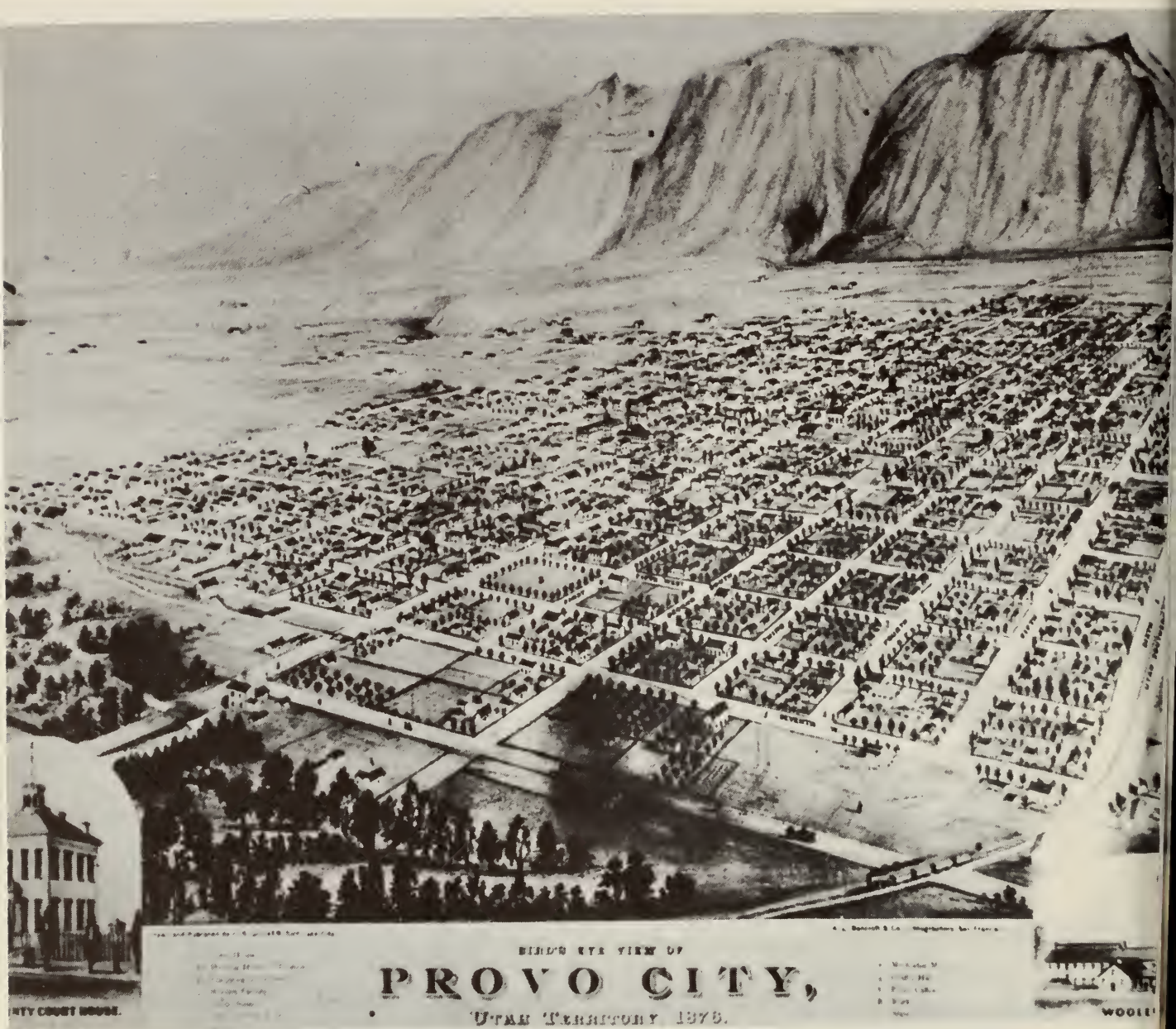
versity. A letter written 4 December 1873 by Col. Thomas L. Kane, friend of the Latter-day Saints who was working in Washington with George Q. Cannon, the Saints' political emissary, congratulated Brigham Young on his plans to found a new school:

The most cheering, probably the most important feature of the tidings brought by Mr. Cannon is your resolve to found an educational institution worthy to bear your name. It is impossible to deprecate too seriously the growing practice of sending your bright youths abroad to lay the basis of the opinions of their lives on the crumbling foundations of modern unfaith and specialization. Why should you not inaugurate a system of education informed upon by your own experience of the world, embodying your own dearly earned wisdom and calculated peradventure to endure for ages with the stamp of your originality upon it? . . . Utah should before this have been educating her own teachers, and preparing if not publishing her own text books. The young fledglings who would resort to our Eastern seminaries of learning — to learn what you will hardly be able to unteach them all their days — should even now be training in the Brigham Young University, normal college of the highest grade, to officiate as “Zion” tutors and professors.⁶⁰

Kane perceived that Brigham Young intended to establish a school capable of guiding the youth of Zion and capable of preparing them to become instructors in Mormon schools.

From April to September 1875 Brigham Young, Warren Dusenberry, George Q. Cannon, and others laid the groundwork for Brigham Young Academy at Provo. George Q. Cannon suggested to Brigham Young that he should take the “property which he did not wish to leave to his family and establish colleges and bestow his name.” These colleges would keep Brigham Young’s memory “alive in the minds of the

60. Thomas L. Kane Papers, 4 December 1873, Church Historical Department. For a brief account of Kane’s activities in Washington, D.C., at the time, see Albert L. Zobell’s *Sentinel in the East* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, 1965), pp. 203-8.



"Bird's Eye View of Provo" in
 1876, just after the founding of
 Brigham Young Academy.
 Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

people.” They would be “an ever present living evidence of his care and thought for the Saints. What influence my remarks had upon him I cannot say. He did before his death take steps to endow institutions of learning. I drew up the charter of one — The Brigham Young Academy at Provo.”⁶¹ Years later, in an article in a Provo newspaper, Cannon remembered “when the idea of the Academy was in President Young’s mind. I drew up at his request the articles founding it.”⁶² Though the Academy did not spring full grown, Athene-like from the head of its founder in 1875 when the Deed of Trust was signed, the important philosophical notions at the foundation of the school’s operation were conceived long before Brigham Young Academy opened.

Deed of Trust by Brigham Young

The actual Deed of Trust for Brigham Young Academy was drawn up on 16 October 1875. Brigham Young singled out six prominent men of Utah County as Trustees — Abraham Owen Smoot, Myron Tanner, Leonard Harrington, Harvey H. Cluff, Wilson Dusenberry, and William Bringham. He also selected Martha Jane Knowlton Coray to represent women’s interests on the Board.⁶³ The Deed conveyed to Trustees, “for the use and benefits of Brigham Young Academy,” the property, comprising approximately 1.2 acres, which had been occupied by the Timpanogos Branch. The Deed provided that “beneficiaries of the Academy” were to be “members [of the Church] in good standing” or “the children of such members.” The customary courses of “reading, penmanship, orthography, grammar, geography, and mathematics” and “other branches that are usually taught in an academy of learning” were to be conducted. To insure religious instruction at the school, Brigham Young specifically stipulated that the “Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon and

61. Joseph J. Cannon, “George Q. Cannon: Relations with Brigham Young,” *Instructor* 80 (June 1945):259.

62. *Daily Enquirer*, 16 October 1891.

63. See appendices for biographical sketches of the original Board of Trustees.

the Book of Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in the Academy." The Deed also provided that "each of the boys who shall take a full course, if his physical ability will permit, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to his taste and capacity."⁶⁴

The Trustees were authorized to elect officers and to "make such rules, regulations, and by-laws" as they thought appropriate for the operation of the Academy. On November 22 the Trustees elected A.O. Smoot president of the Board, Wilson H. Dusenberry secretary, and Harvey H. Cluff treasurer.⁶⁵ Brigham Young and his heirs retained the right to appoint successors to the Board and, more important, to approve or disapprove the Board's decisions. The Deed of Trust was notarized in Salt Lake City on 11 November 1875 and was probated in Provo on November 22 in the presence of the members of the Board of Trustees. With this formality completed, Brigham Young Academy was launched. The Board met three weeks later, and on the motion of Mrs. Coray, Warren N. Dusenberry was elected first principal of the school.⁶⁶ Since Dusenberry was extremely busy with outside matters, his appointment as principal was probably viewed as temporary, having effect only until the Board could arrange for a permanent principal.

Although the signing of the Deed of Trust was an important event that carried with it far-reaching implications for the future of education in Utah, the press gave it only incidental attention. The *Salt Lake Herald* carried an article of fifty-two words on 30 October 1875 and followed it up with an occasional article on into December. On November 30 the *Deseret News* mentioned the signing of the Deed of Trust, adding that the new school was to begin shortly "with an efficient corps of teachers." Possibly due to the fact that the school was not an official Church institution, not the slightest mention was made of the new school in the October General Conference of

64. Minutes of the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees, 16 October 1875, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as BYA Board Minutes). The original Deed of Trust is not available.

65. BYA Board Minutes, 22 November 1875.

66. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1875.

the Church in 1875, nor in the April Conference of 1876. The journals and educational papers of General Authorities of the Church likewise did not mention the founding of the school.

Perhaps the founding of the new school received so little public attention because many considered Brigham Young Academy to be a mere extension of the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret. O.H. Riggs, territorial superintendent of common schools, wrote in 1876 that the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret “was organized in April, A.D., 1870, and continued to be a marked feature of the county during its existence. Owing to an imperfect organization, it suspended last May. A new organization was effected on the 26th of November, A.D. 1875. Prest. Brigham Young, proprietor of the University building and grounds, has executed a deed of the property, to seven trustees.”⁶⁷ The Deed of Trust was obviously satisfactory to Brigham Young. He used the charter portion virtually word-for-word when he signed the Deed of Trust for the Young Academy at Salt Lake City in 1876. The same wording was used in the 1877 Deed of Trust for Brigham Young College in Logan. Further, the new Brigham Young Academy indentures, issued on 15 June 1877, were almost identical to the 1875 Deed.⁶⁸

The theological and moral aspects of the new academy occupied much of Brigham Young’s attention. In a letter to his son Alfales, then a student at the University of Michigan, Brigham Young explained, “I have deeded my property on that place on which the University building stands to a Board of Trustees, composed of Smoot, Harrington and others for the purpose of endowing a college, to be called ‘Brigham Young’s Academy of Provo.’ I have had this in contemplation some time and I hope to see an Academy established there that shall do honour to our Territory and at which the children of the Latter-day Saints can receive a good education unmixed with the pernicious, atheistic influences that are

67. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools*, 1876, p. 18.

68. See “Deeds of Trust” folder in BYU Archives for typescript of the original deeds. See also “Brigham Young College,” *Contributor* 2 (September 1881):367-68.

found in so many of the higher schools of the country.”⁶⁹

Brigham Young’s name and financial support were great stabilizing influences on the new academy. Martha Jane Coray expressed the feelings of the Board when she wrote President Young, with respect to Academy affairs, “I am mainly desirous to know your will and that shall be my pleasure in everything touching this establishment.”⁷⁰

Brigham Young’s Educational Philosophy

Brigham Young, who had only a few days of formal schooling, was nevertheless an avid supporter of education. Speaking for himself and his counselor Heber C. Kimball, President Young said that Mormonism “was the first of our schooling.” The two leaders’ early education was of a practical nature:

We had the privilege of picking up brush, chopping down trees, rolling logs; and working amongst the roots and getting our shins, feet and toes bruised. . . . My sisters would make me what was called a Jo Johnson cap for winter, and in the summer I wore a straw hat which I frequently braided for myself. I learned how to make bread, wash the dishes, milk the cows and make butter; and can make butter and beat most of the women in this community at housekeeping. Those are about all the advantages I gained in my youth. I know how to economize, for my father had to do it.⁷¹

Even though Brigham Young’s personal training was informal, he perceived the need for all kinds of education in LDS society, especially since his religious beliefs circumscribed “all the wisdom in the world — All that God has ever revealed to man. God has revealed all the truth that is now in the possession of the world, whether it be scientific or religious.”⁷² He said that Mormonism “embraces every true

69. Brigham Young to Alfaes Young, 20 October 1875, Brigham Young Papers.

70. Martha Jane Coray to Brigham Young, 10 April 1876, Brigham Young Papers.

71. *Journal of Discourses*, 5:97.

72. *Ibid.*, 8:162.



Brigham Young, President
of The Church of Jesus Christ of
Latter-day Saints from 1847 to 1877
and founder of Brigham Young Academy.
Courtesy Church Archives, The Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

science; all true philosophy.”⁷³ President Young admonished the Saints to “learn everything that the children of men know, and be prepared for the most refined society upon the face of the earth, then improve upon this until we are prepared and permitted to enter the society of the blessed.” In his view, “We should be a people of profound learning pertaining to the things of the world.”⁷⁴ He knew that education does not end with the scriptures: “‘Shall I sit down and read the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Covenants all the time?’ says one. Yes, if you please, and when you have done, you may be nothing but a sectarian after all. It is your *duty* to know everything upon the face of the earth in addition to reading those books.”⁷⁵

His own lack of formal education undoubtedly led him to underestimate the time and energy required to build an advanced culture which could profit from higher learning, but Brigham Young dedicated his life to, among other things, improving education in the LDS community. He thought every man should be schooled in at least one trade.⁷⁶ He gave specific advice about vocational education in many of his speeches. Among others, he spoke of the following subjects:

Animal

Science: Learn to raise calves, chickens, lambs and all kinds of useful fowls and animals. (*Journal of Discourses*, 9:173)

Agronomy: Learn how to till the ground to the best advantage for raising all useful products of the soil. (*J.D.*, 9:173)

Bookkeeping: Study arithmetic and bookkeeping. (*J.D.*, 12:32)

Engineering: Study to apply your labor to advantage. . . . If you have to roll a log, cut down a tree, etc., study how to take advantage of the work; continue to accomplish your work with

73. Ibid., 14:280.

74. Ibid., 8:40.

75. Ibid., 2:93-94.

76. Ibid., 10:77.

the least expenditure of strength.
(*J.D.*, 8:297)

Home
Economics: Let the sisters study economy in the
labor and management of their
homes. (*J.D.*, 12:123)

Military
Science: Let the boys from ten to twenty years
of age get up schools to learn sword
exercise, musket and rifle exercise.
(*J.D.*, 9:173)

He discoursed on other subjects, encouraging the Saints to
pursue all kinds of knowledge:

Architecture: Be able to understand the grand ar-
chitectural designs of those magnifi-
cent structures that are scattered
over Europe. (*J.D.*, 9:173)

Education: A good school teacher is one of the
most essential members in society.
(*J.D.*, 10:225)

English: See that your children are properly
educated in the rudiments of their
mother tongue. (*J.D.*, 8:9)

Foreign
Languages: We should be familiar with the vari-
ous languages, for we wish . . . those
who go to Germany, Italy, Spain, and
so on to all nations, to be familiar with
the languages of those nations. (*J.D.*,
8:40)

General
Science: Learn chemistry, botany, geology
and mineralogy. (*J.D.*, 16:170)

Geography: Become as well acquainted with the
geography of the world as we are
with our gardens. (*J.D.*, 8:40)

History: I would advise you to read books that
are worth reading, of the best books,
read reliable history, and search wis-

- dom, all you can procure. (*J.D.*, 9:173)
- Law: Get up classes for the study of law. (*J.D.*, 12:32)
- Philosophy and Religion: We ought to know as much as the philosophical world. (*J.D.*, 4:356)
All men should study to learn the nature of mankind, and to discern the divinity inherent in them. (*J.D.*, 7:1)
- Liberal Arts: Every accomplishment, every polished grace, every useful attainment in mathematics, music, and in all science and art belong to the Saints, and they should avail themselves as expeditiously as possible of the wealth of knowledge the sciences offer to every diligent and persevering scholar. (*J.D.*, 10:224)
- Political Science: We ought at least to know as much about politics as the political world. (*J.D.*, 4:356)
- Scholarship: Excel the nations of the earth in religion, science and philosophy. (*J.D.*, 12:32)
- Scientific Method: Our religion will not clash with or contradict the facts of science in any particular. (*J.D.*, 14:115)

Brigham Young summed up his educational philosophy in the prize-winning definition which was submitted posthumously for him to the San Francisco World's Fair: "Education is the power to think clearly, to act well in the day's work, and to appreciate life." President Young's personal life epitomized his definition. An extremely active and practical man, he was also responsible for constructing the famous Salt Lake Theatre, where he was an active theatergoer. He was responsible for much of the vitality of early Utah education. In

addition to Brigham Young Academy, he founded several other schools. His energetic support for education gave Brigham Young Academy the impetus it needed to keep going during its first struggling years.

Brigham Young Academy Experimental Term

Brigham Young Academy did not open immediately after the Deed of Trust was signed. The Board met in November to examine the building, work on rules, and make other physical arrangements.⁷⁷ Repairs on the run-down Lewis Building were not finished on schedule, and the already delayed opening date of December 6 was moved to 3 January 1876.

Despite delays, the new Board of Trustees operated much more efficiently than the executive board of the Timpanogos Branch, which had consisted of three bishops from three separate towns who were in turn responsible to a board of regents in Salt Lake City. The local board of the new school had control of the manner in which the pupils were admitted, and they, "having engaged the teachers for the term, were "responsible for their wages."⁷⁸ The school treasurer was to receive fees and pay the principal in whatever form the tuition was paid; either cash, produce, or saleable goods.⁷⁹ The Board's responsibility "for the management and control of the institution, for the employment of agents and teachers," and for "the regulation of studies for students and the terms on which they shall be admitted," were fairly well defined in the Deed, insuring more efficient operation of the new school.

The first preliminary term finally began on 3 January 1876.⁸⁰ Though a dedication banquet was held on January 1,⁸¹ only the principal and three members of the Board of

77. Journal of Martha Coray, November 1875, BYU Special Collections.

78. Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meeting Minutes, 4 January 1876.

79. Susa Young Gates, "Dr. Karl G. Maeser," *Young Women's Journal* 3 (1892):482.

80. Journal of Martha Coray, 3 January 1876.

81. Ibid., 1 January 1876.

"Holiness to the Lord."

CIRCULAR

— OF THE —

BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY, PROVO,

— FOR THE —

Seventh Academic Year, 1882--1883.

A.--CALENDAR.

- I. Term from August 28th until November 3rd.*
- II. Term from November 6th until January 19th, 1883.*
(Christmas Vacation from December 23rd until January 2nd.)
- III. Term from January 22nd. until March 30th.*
(Conference Vacation from March 31st until April 8th.)
- IV. Term from April 9th until June 15th.*

B.--DEPARTMENTS.

I. PRIMARY DEPARTMENT.

GRADES:—Chart, First and Second Readers.

UTENSILS:—Slate, Spencerian Tracing Books, Nos. 1-4.

II. INTERMEDIATE DEPARTMENT.

GRADES:—Third and Fourth Readers.

UTENSILS:—Swinton's Word Book; Swinton's Language Primer; and Ray's New Elementary Arithmetic, (for Third Reader grade); Swinton's New Language Lessons; and Ray's New Practical Arithmetic, (for Fourth Reader grade); Appleton's Elementary Geography; Bible; Book of Mormon; School Dictionary; Spencerian Copy Books, Nos. 5-6.

OPTIONAL:—Anderson's Popular U. S. History; Blank Drawing Book.

NOTE:—The studies of the Primary and Intermediate Departments comprise all the branches of a complete common English education.

III. ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT.

I. Fifth Reader Course.

NOTE:—No student in this course can be excused from any regular study unless satisfactory proof of efficiency therein is produced.

UTENSILS:—Swinton's Progressive Grammar; Ray's New Higher Arithmetic and Test Examples without answers; Appleton's Standard Higher Geography; Bible; Book of Mormon; School Dictionary; Spencerian Copy Book, Nos. 6-12.

OPTIONAL:—Anderson's New General History; Blank Drawing Book; any work on Natural History.

Trustees came to the first day of classes. The Board of Trustees apparently did not meet during the first term, indicating that this term was either not of vital concern to the Board or that Dusenberry, in the pattern of the Timpanogos Branch, did not consult the Board on the operation of the school.

The term was probably considered an interim measure to keep the Academy alive, insuring that Provo would have Church education beyond the primary and intermediate grades. Attendance during the experimental term was very low. The territorial report showed only seventy students present during the first preliminary term, compared with over two hundred students at an average term of the Timpanogos Branch. O.H. Riggs mentioned that the Trustees had “adopted the prepaid system” of tuition, which “caused some agitation”⁸² and probably contributed to the small enrollment. Not including his salary or items of personal expense, Principal Dusenberry used about seven hundred dollars to operate the school during its first experimental term.⁸³ On 15 April 1876, at the end of the experimental term, the Board accepted Dusenberry’s voluntary resignation as principal of the Academy.

82. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools*, 1876, p.11.

83. BYA Board Minutes, 4 December 1875.

4

Karl G. Maeser: Spiritual Architect

The Search for a Principal

During the short Dusenberry Administration the Board searched for an educator who could dedicate himself fully to Brigham Young Academy. Karl G. Maeser was immediately considered.¹ President Smoot had known Maeser for a number of years since both of them had lived in the Twentieth Ward in Salt Lake City. Smoot had high respect for “the gifted German.”² Even Brigham Young had early considered Maeser as principal of the Academy. Susa Young Gates said, “When the plan of establishing a religious school at Provo had developed in the mind of President Young, the name of Karl

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1. The Provo Board had scheduled a meeting with Maeser as early as October 1875. Martha Jane Coray wrote, “I went to meeting. Maeser did not come.” (Journal of Martha Coray, 24 October 1875). In February of the next year, two months before Maeser’s appointment as principal of Brigham Young Academy, A.O. Smoot visited the Salt Lake Twentieth Ward. While there, President Smoot spoke “of the responsibilities that would shortly devolve upon the young” (Salt Lake Twentieth Ward Historical Records, 13 February 1876, Church Historical Department). Perhaps at that time Smoot was considering Karl G. Maeser (who lived and taught in the Twentieth Ward) for the principalship.
 2. Gates, “Smoot,” p. 434.

G. Maeser was suggested to him by Brother Warren N. Dusenberry, who was principal of the Academy so recently founded.”³ Dusenberry was undoubtedly impressed with Karl Maeser. The Dusenberry brothers and Hyrum Tanner had attended the Territorial Normal Institute that was founded in August 1875 in conjunction with the University of Deseret.⁴ They made a very enthusiastic report about the institute, asserting that “the course of studies, ability of the Instructors, and Normal Lectures on the ‘Theory and Practice of Teaching’ ” were “all that could be desired.”⁵ The class “Theory and Practice of Education” was taught by Maeser.⁶ George Q. Cannon was also an important influence in getting Maeser to Provo. Maeser had worked with Cannon in the 1860s while writing articles for the *Juvenile Instructor*.

Susa Young Gates, who later became a member of the faculty at the Academy, connected Maeser’s call to serve at Brigham Young Academy with the explosion of an arsenal on the hills north of Salt Lake City. The explosion, which occurred on 5 April 1876, was so severe that it shook the whole northern half of the city, causing extensive damage to the Twentieth Ward schoolhouse where Maeser was teaching.⁷ Seeing the damage the explosion had done to his school, Maeser went at once to President Brigham Young’s office in search of Bishop John Sharp to report the matter. Maeser found himself in the presence of President Young as well as the bishop. He reported he would not be able to “teach school until the building was repaired.” According to Susa Young Gates, President Young replied, “ ‘That is just right. . . . I want to give you a mission to teach in the Brigham Young Academy at Provo.’ ”⁸ At the Board meeting held on 6 April

3. Gates, “Maeser,” p. 482.

4. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools*, 1876, p. 61.

5. Utah County Court Records, book B, 18 October 1875.

6. “Normal Institute,” *Deseret News*, 4 August 1875. See also *Report of Territorial Superintendent*, 1876, p. 62.

7. Gates, “Maeser,” pp. 482-83; “Terrible Disaster,” *Deseret News*, 6 April 1876.

8. Gates, “Maeser,” p. 482. The only other complete account of Maeser’s call is in Reinhard Maeser’s biography of his father. Reinhard corroborated the circumstances of the call, but he gave a little different

1876, arrangements were made for Maeser to become principal of Brigham Young Academy.⁹

Maeser served as principal of the Academy for seventeen years and thereafter continued for another ten years on its Board of Trustees, at the same time serving as superintendent of Church schools until his death in 1901. His personality profoundly affected Brigham Young University, not just during its formative years as Brigham Young Academy, but throughout its hundred-year history.

Maeser's German Experience

Maeser's own educational method and philosophy were shaped by his German education¹⁰ and by his commitment to Mormonism. Karl Gottfried Mäeser was born 16 January 1828 in Vorbrucke, a section of the small town of Meissen in Saxony, Germany.¹¹ His family, according to Reinhard Maeser, had been prominent in Niederau, a nearby town. In 1836, eight years after Maeser's birth, Meissen could boast of "2 churches, 3 hospitals, and a distinguished gymnasium."¹²

version of Maeser's conversation with Brigham Young. He stated that Brigham Young said to Karl Maeser,

"That is exactly right, Brother Maeser; I have another mission for you."

What! Another mission! What could it be? Financial daylight was just beginning to dawn upon him. And now another mission! It fairly took his breath away. What did it all mean?

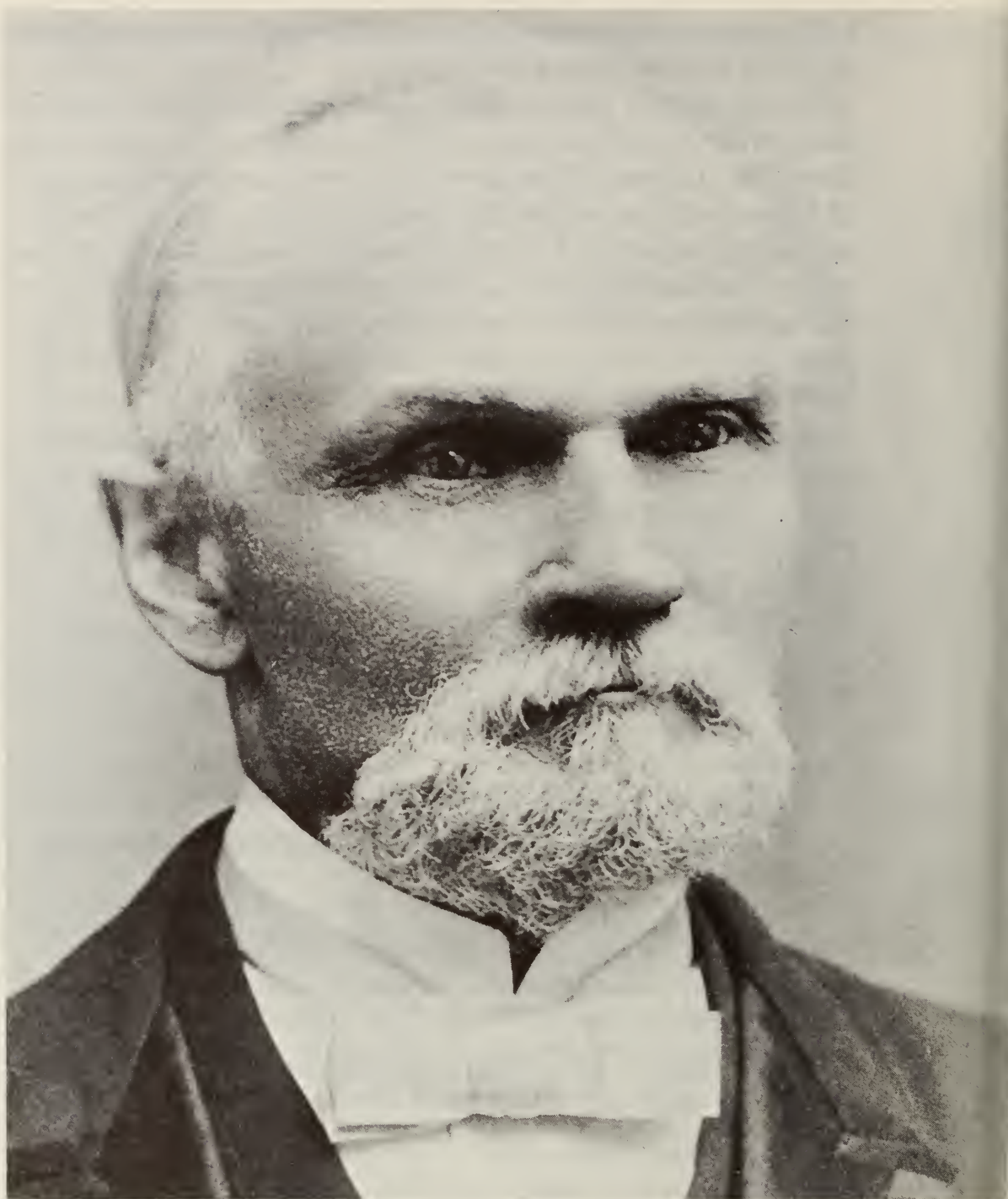
"Yes," said the President, "We have been considering the establishment of a Church school, and are looking around for a man — the man to take charge of it. You are the man, Brother Maeser. We want you to go to Provo to organize and conduct the Academy to be established in the name of the Church — a Church school." (Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser* [Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1928], p. 77)

9. Gates, "Maeser," p.482.

10. One of Maeser's associates, Edward Schoenfield, who was converted in Germany to the Mormon Church at the same time as Maeser, mentioned that Maeser's "nationality was very marked. He was an out-and-out German in character and remained so" ("Dr. Karl G. Maeser," *Liahona: The Elders' Journal* 9 [August 1911]: 83).

11. Reinhard Maeser, p. 10.

12. Frederick Guest Tomlins, *Universal Gazetteer* (London: F.G. Tomlins, 1839), pp. 898-99.



Karl G. Maeser, principal of
Brigham Young Academy
from 1876 to 1892.

The center of the city's modest industry was the large porcelain factory, founded at the turn of the eighteenth century by a German chemist.¹³ Karl Maeser's father worked in the Meissen porcelain factory as a master painter of chinaware.¹⁴ He later confessed to his son Karl that he felt the creations of his "mind and brush might have adorned the great art galleries of the world, and my name might have been written with the great artists of my time," but he "painted for bread too soon."¹⁵

Maeser attended the public school at Meissen, studying subjects that were stressed in Prussian common schools (*Volkschule*): religion, geography, composition, arithmetic, history, and music.¹⁶ In the course of his work as a student in the Meissen school, he developed eye trouble and went blind. After eight months, his sight suddenly returned.¹⁷ At fourteen he went to Dresden, not far from his home, to attend the preparatory school, or *Gymnasium*, called the *Kreuzschule* (School of the Cross).¹⁸ This was an honor reserved for brighter students.¹⁹ Students planning to enter professional life were required to prepare themselves for college or university instruction by attending such a preparatory school, and fourteen was the normal age for admittance.²⁰ The purpose of these schools was "to lay a foundation of general knowledge upon which the special training for teachers [could] be built."²¹ At the *Kreuzschule*, the Prussian common school course, standardized throughout the country, was very intensive and competitive. Karl had to pass a rather frightening examination to gain admission.²²

13. J.R. M'Culloch, *M'Culloch's Universal Gazetteer* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843), p. 339.

14. Reinhard Maeser, p. 10.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

16. Levi Seeley, *The Common-School System of Germany and Its Lessons to America* (New York: E.L. Kellogg & Co., 1896), pp. 87-88.

17. "Dedicatory," *Daily Enquirer*, 4 January 1892.

18. Brigham Young Academy Domestic Meeting Minutes, 27 May 1880, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Domestic Meeting Minutes).

19. Seeley, p. 138.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

The *Kreuzschule* in Dresden was one of the best preparatory schools in Prussia. It was mentioned in the *Chronik von Dresden* as early as 1452, where it was described as a school of substantial scholastic reputation.²³ At the time of Maeser's matriculation, Dresden had an academy for training cadets, a military school, a medical college, three public libraries, and two high schools.²⁴ Richard Wagner, famous German composer, went to the *Kreuzschule* in 1822 and studied there for six years.²⁵ Karl G. Maeser arrived at the school in 1842 and studied Greek, Latin, German, and French, acquiring the rudiments of a classical education. Karl was a hearty participant at the preparatory school. Studies required of prospective teachers were extensive and included religion, languages, mathematics, history, geography, science, drawing, music, and gymnastics.²⁶ The theology classes were considered especially important in the German system at the time.²⁷ A final examination at the end of the coursework, requiring written and oral recitations and the translation of texts in various foreign languages, took a whole day.²⁸

After the *Kreuzschule*, Maeser did advanced studies at the Friedrichstadt *Schullehrerseminar* in Dresden, which had been founded in 1788.²⁹ According to the German plan of education, the *Volkschule* were supplied with teachers trained in the teachers colleges or *Schullehrerseminaren* throughout the country.³⁰ In these colleges, prospective teachers were prepared in an intensive program which included all of the areas of the lower preparatory schools and a few others, such as

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23. Gustav Klemm, *Chronik der königlich sächsischen Residenzstadt Dresden und ihrer Bürger* (Dresden: C.F. Grimmer, 1835), p. 140.
 24. Tomlins, pp. 383-84.
 25. Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 3 vols. (New York: A. Knopf, 1940), 1:45-52.
 26. Seeley, p. 141.
 27. Ibid., pp. 141, 156.
 28. Alexander Ott, "Modern Germany, IV," *Deseret News*, 7 November 1860.
 29. Klemm, p. 524.
 30. George Haines, *German Influence upon English Education and Science, 1800-1866* (New London, Conn.: Connecticut College, 1957), p. 4.

didactics and the history of pedagogy.³¹ During Maeser's day the *Schullehrerseminaren* were deeply affected by a number of rapid social and political developments and the philosophies of famous contemporary educators, including Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel.³² To the very end, Maeser's teaching methodology carried the hallmark of German pedagogy. Some of his basic concepts owed much to Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude*.³³

At Friedrichstadt the teachers exam was patterned after a national model, and every prospective teacher was required to prove his proficiency in three ways: written examinations, oral tests, and practical demonstrations. Candidates were required to know the history of pedagogy, which was later one of Maeser's favorite lecture topics, and to specialize in one academic area.³⁴ Maeser passed his exams successfully and, in May 1848, at just twenty years of age, began his life as a schoolteacher.³⁵

After his normal schooling, Maeser went to Bohemia where he tutored children of prominent Protestant families. After three years he returned to Dresden to teach at the first district school, and in a short time he was promoted to the Budig Institute.³⁶ There he became headmaster, or *Oberlehrer*. The

31. Seeley, pp. 138-39; 157-62.

32. Friedrich Paulsen, *Die Deutschen Universitäten, und das universitäts-stadium* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1902), pp. 60ff.

33. Though Maeser was a stricter disciplinarian than Pestalozzi, his compassion for poor children and his deep concern about object lesson instruction later won him the appellation, "The Pestalozzi of the Rocky Mountains." See John T. Miller, "The Pestalozzi of the Rocky Mountains," *The Character Builder* 40 (October 1927):1. For Maeser's interpretation of Pestalozzian pedagogy, see Benjamin Cluff Theological Notes, 1882 to 1885, BYU Archives, pp. 59ff.

34. Seeley, p. 159.

35. Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside* (Provo, Utah: Skelton & Co., 1898), p. 351. This book, the only one Maeser ever wrote, shows his systematic adjustment of the German system to the Church Educational System. The teacher training course he took in Dresden was similar to the one he later implemented in the Normal Department at Brigham Young Academy. Maeser's inclination was pedagogical rather than scholarly, and he always regarded himself as a trainer of teachers rather than a researcher.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 352.

Court in Dresden was Catholic,³⁷ but Maeser's lifetime support of the Lutheran Church and membership in the Liberal or Constitutional Party led him to hold meetings on Sundays to rally support for what he considered to be a better cause.³⁸

In 1852, while teaching in Dresden, Maeser met Edward Schoenfield, who soon became one of his closest friends.³⁹ He also met Anna Mieth, who was the daughter of the principal of the Budig Institute.⁴⁰ In June 1854 he married Anna in the Lutheran Church at Dresden.⁴¹

Conversion to Mormonism

While teaching at the Budig Institute Maeser apparently came across a book on the Mormons written by Moritz Busch.⁴² The book sparked Maeser's interest in Mormonism. He and Edward Schoenfield decided to see what they could find out about the Mormons. Schoenfield claimed that in 1853 he and Maeser came in contact with someone who gave them the address of Elder Van Cott, president of the Scan-

37. Newman, 1:45-51.

38. Karl Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 352.

39. Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 81.

40. Reinhard Maeser, p. 14.

41. Alma Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), pp. 3-4.

42. A professor of theology at the University of Leipzig and, later, a free-lance writer and editor, Busch was a figure of some renown in Dresden during Maeser's time. Busch's works on the Mormons relied heavily on such anti-Mormon works as Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, which, as Busch's only translator and biographer, Norman H. Binger, says, "he principally relied upon — or 'plagiarized' " (Norman H. Binger, trans., *Travels Between the Hudson and the Mississippi* by Moritz Busch [Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971], pp. xiv-xv). His travelogue, *Wanderungen zwischen Hudson und Mississippi, 1851-1852* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Cotta, 1854), contained one chapter on the Latter-day Saints, entitled "Die Heligen vom jungsten Tage" (2:1-83). Binger characterized it as "an account critical of the dogma but sympathetic toward the experiences of the Mormons." The travelogue is very similar to Busch's book *Die Mormonen, Ihr Staat, Ihr Prophet und Ihre Glauben* (Leipzig, Carl B. Lorck), which was published in 1855. Busch's ambivalence towards the Mormons evidently prompted Maeser to investigate the Church more carefully.

dinavian Mission at Copenhagen.⁴³ Maeser wrote President Van Cott, asking for information and suggesting that some informed missionaries be sent to Saxony.⁴⁴ Van Cott referred Maeser's letter to Elder Daniel Tyler, president of the Swiss-German Mission,⁴⁵ who decided not to answer the letter, fearing it was a ruse to entice missionaries into Saxony where they would be arrested and jailed by the Prussian police. Accordingly, he mailed Maeser's letter back to him, remarking to one of his missionaries that if Maeser was in earnest he would write again. Maeser did write again, for apart from his interest in Mormonism, he couldn't understand why the letter had come back from Switzerland. This time Maeser's letter was forwarded to President Franklin D. Richards, president of the entire European Mission. Though Richards believed Maeser was writing in good faith, he was also reluctant to order a missionary to go to Prussia.⁴⁶

President Richards spoke to Elder William Budge about Maeser's letter. As Budge's son later recorded, Richards "did not make a direct request of father to go to Dresden, but it was apparent from the general tenor of his remarks that he would be very pleased to comply with Prof. Maeser's request."⁴⁷

43. Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 82.

44. Franklin L. West, *Life of Franklin D. Richards* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924), p. 129.

45. Karl G. Maeser, "How I Became a Mormon," *Improvement Era* 3 (November 1899): 24.

46. Jesse R.S. Budge, *Life of William Budge* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1915), p. 64.

47. *Ibid.* Budge had been converted to Mormonism under unusual circumstances and was a most dedicated missionary. At the age of sixteen, while living in Glasgow, he saw some blazing newspaper headlines telling of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. Although he had never heard of Joseph Smith or the Mormon Church, Budge was incensed that such a thing could happen in a free land like America. He never forgot the newspaper article. Four years later a friend invited him to attend a Latter-day Saints meeting in one of the large halls in Glasgow. Study convinced him that the Church was true, and Budge was baptized on 31 December 1848. Two years later he was ordained an elder and called to preach the gospel without purse or scrip in England. For nine years Budge labored as a missionary, his appointment taking him to Switzerland where he

Budge volunteered to go to Dresden, where he was warmly received at the end of September by Karl Maeser, who invited him to occupy a room in the Maeser home. To escape police detection, Budge posed as a student, explaining to the officials "that as he could speak German but imperfectly, he desired to take further instruction in it, and that if there was no objection, he would very much like to occupy a room at the home of Professor Maeser who had offered to assist him; that in view of the fact that the professor's time was so much occupied with school duties, it would be more convenient for him if father could lodge at his house so that he could readily be found at such hours as the professor found himself at leisure."⁴⁸

Within two weeks the Maesers and the Schoenfields were converted.⁴⁹ When Elder Budge wrote President Richards of the impending baptisms, Richards replied that he wanted to attend the baptism on his way to Italy.⁵⁰ Franklin D. Richards and his traveling companion William Kimball arrived in Dresden on 14 October 1855. That night at midnight, wary of the Prussian police, President Richards supervised the baptism of Karl G. Maeser, Edward Schoenfield, and Edward Martin in the Elbe River.⁵¹

A miraculous event occurred after Maeser's baptism and confirmation as a member of the Church. He had struggled with the utmost sincerity to get a conviction of the divinity of the Church which he had just joined. He looked upon his baptism as a pledge of faith, which he hoped might be supported by some heavenly token as a witness that he had done

presided over the Swiss Mission, to Scotland where he presided over the Glasgow Conference, to England where he presided over five different conferences, and at various times to Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

48. Ibid., p. 65.

49. Ibid., p. 66.

50. West, p. 129.

51. Jesse Budge, p. 67. See also "Death of Karl G. Maeser," *Deseret News*, 15 February 1901. Five days later, Maeser's wife was baptized along with her sisters Ottie Schoenfield and Camilla Meith, her brother Emil, and her mother Henrietta Meith.

the right thing. Of this experience he later wrote: "On coming out of the water, I lifted both of my hands to heaven and said: 'Father, if what I have done just now is pleasing unto thee, give me a testimony and whatever thou shouldst require at my hands I shall do, even to the laying down of my life for this cause.'"⁵² The divine witness Karl G. Maeser desired was granted to him immediately. He described what happened as the baptismal party returned to the lodgings:

Our conversation was on the subject of the authority of the Priesthood, Elder Budge acting as interpreter. Suddenly I stopped Elder Budge from interpreting President Richards' remarks, as I understood them, and replied in German; when again the interpretation was not needed as President Richards understood me also. Thus we continued conversing until we arrived at the point of separation, when the manifestation as suddenly ceased as it had come.⁵³

Startled, Maeser asked Budge what this all meant. Budge told him that God had given him his testimony.⁵⁴ This remarkable gift of interpretation of tongues firmly established Karl G. Maeser in his new faith with a vigor that never diminished. At Maeser's funeral, President Heber J. Grant exclaimed that Maeser's conversion was worth all the money spent up to that time on missionary work in all of Germany.⁵⁵

On to Salt Lake City

Maeser realized that his baptism would terminate his professional career in Germany. Up to that time not a single

52. Karl Maeser, "How I Became a Mormon," p. 25. For Richards' reaction, *see* West, p. 131.

53. Karl Maeser, "How I Became a Mormon," pp. 25-26. At a banquet in 1892, Franklin D. Richards recalled the manifestation: "Brother Maeser, how blessed it was that the gift of tongues and interpretation was given to us; it always caused me joy. Brother Maeser did not know English and I did not know German, but I could speak to him and he to me" (West, p. 131). Budge and Kimball apparently left no account of the experience. *See also* Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 82.

54. Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 82.

55. "Death of Karl G. Maeser," *Deseret News*, 15 February 1901.

person had been baptized a Mormon in Saxony, and Maeser knew that when the word spread that he had become a member of this hated sect he would be "scourged from the city."⁵⁶ Accordingly, he, his wife and two children, and the Schoenfields left Germany for Salt Lake City under cover of darkness.

In London Maeser was separated from the Schoenfields when he was called on a mission to Scotland. The Schoenfields continued their journey to America while Maeser toured the English Mission, speaking with the aid of an interpreter.⁵⁷ After completing his mission, Maeser sailed with his family for New York City. Two days out of New York one of their children died, and the Maesers arrived in America without friends to help them bury their child.

The Maesers traveled to Philadelphia, where Karl was called on a mission to the Southern States. Traveling without purse or scrip, Maeser often went without food and recreation. While in Richmond, Virginia, he ventured into a music store and asked if he could play one of their pianos. When a distinguished-looking gentleman came into the store and asked for a demonstration, Maeser volunteered. The man, John Tyler, former president of the United States, bought the piano and hired Maeser to give lessons to his two daughters.⁵⁸ After six months in Virginia, Maeser was called back to Philadelphia to preside over the conference there. He remained on his mission until June 1860 when he was selected to head a company of converts that arrived in Salt Lake City in September.⁵⁹

Teaching in Zion

Like the Dusenberrys, Maeser entered the Utah educational picture in 1860, a time of heightened interest in school-

56. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-36), 1:708. Due to pressures from the police, Budge left Dresden shortly after the baptism (Jesse Budge, p. 69).

57. Jesse Budge, p. 72. Maeser was quite a celebrity among Church members in England.

58. Reinhard Maeser, p. 34.

59. "Immigrants Arriving," *Deseret News*, 5 September 1860.

ing. In addition to the educational movement in Provo, Salt Lake citizens were taking considerable interest in German education. Converts from Europe were creating a stir with their reports of the sophisticated educational systems on the Continent. Alexander Ott, a graduate of the University of Berlin, wrote a series of popular articles on Germany for the *Deseret News* that detailed the advantages of the German teaching system.⁶⁰ Other teachers, such as Louis Moench and Maeser's friend Edward Schoenfield, enthusiastically advocated the German system.⁶¹ Consequently, Maeser did not stand alone in proselyting the cause of education.

With Professor Alexander Ott, Maeser published his first educational notice on 31 October 1860 in the *Deseret News*. Entitled "Instruction in the Higher Branches of Education," the article stated: "The undersigned beg to inform the Public that they intend opening evening classes for English, German, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Gymnastics, Music — Piano, Drawing, Bookkeeping, Mathematics and all the branches of a sound and practical education on November 15th."⁶² The authors of the article also gave notice to "their numerous friends" that the "academy for the general instruction for Boys and Girls" was about to open. Tuition was set at \$5.00 per quarter, to be paid in advance, and candidates were requested to call at Karl G. Maeser's home on the northeast corner of the schoolhouse block of the Fourteenth Ward. It was further announced that if tuition were paid in produce it would be accepted at the "tithing office price."

The new school, known as the "Deseret Lyceum," opened on 15 November 1860 in the Fifteenth Ward schoolhouse. Maeser was not pleased with conditions at the early school. He later said that he "began teaching in the 15th Ward under conditions so primitive that teachers of today [1890s] can have no conception of them."⁶³ Maeser was not a skilled carpenter,

60. Alexander Ott, "Modern Germany," *Deseret News*, 7, 14, 21 November 1860.

61. James Cobb, Robert Campbell, G.W. Mousley, and John R. Park also showed strong interest in the German system.

62. "Private School," *Deseret News*, 31 October 1860. See the 7 November 1860 issue for a more extensive advertisement.

63. Karl Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 355.

but he was compelled to do considerable manual labor. With other teachers, Maeser tried his hand at making school slates from Cache County rock.⁶⁴ Compromising his aristocratic German background, he even did janitorial work at the school. At first this caused him no little mental anguish, for in Germany it would have been below his station in life.⁶⁵ The Lyceum was not a financial success, and he left for other employment.

Brigham Young's new Union Academy, intended for students beyond elementary grades, offered Maeser his second teaching position. In February 1861 President Brigham Young placed Karl G. Maeser in charge of the school.⁶⁶ This facility was designed to become the nucleus of an enlarged school system. The academy hoped to draw students into Salt Lake City from the surrounding region.⁶⁷ As principal of the Union Academy, Maeser entertained ideas of developing a complete school program similar to the German system, with various grammar schools supplying students to the academy. He proposed to the trustees of the Seventeenth Ward School adjacent to the Union Academy that the two schools be combined, with himself teaching one or two classes, leaving the rest to "an engageable and competent Assistant Teacher."⁶⁸ He asked that the ward schoolhouse be used as an elementary school with reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and "object lessons" to be taught daily, and a class in Mormon theology to be taught twice a week. Those in the fourth reader and above would go to the Union Academy for more advanced training, which would include needlework for the girls. In the tradition of Pestalozzi, Maeser considered it his duty "to take in the

64. "Slates for School Purposes," *Deseret News*, 23 October 1861. See also *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Chicago: National Historical Record Co., 1902), p. 380.

65. Karl Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 355. See also Salt Lake Twentieth Ward Historical Record, 30 August 1874.

66. Reinhard Maeser, pp. 38-39.

67. Orson Pratt and James Cobb, "Union Male Academy," *Deseret News*, 10 October 1860.

68. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 11 October 1861, Church Historical Department.

elementary classes all those children free of any charge that bring me a note" from their bishop, "testifying their inability to pay on account of poverty."⁶⁹

Since the problem with all the schools above the elementary level in those days was a lack of students qualified to handle the course work of a high school,⁷⁰ Maeser proposed to remedy the situation by joining a grammar and a high school together so that the one could furnish students to the other. This was a plan that later received consideration from other Utah educators, and it was one of Maeser's early concerns in building a normal school at Brigham Young Academy.⁷¹ Maeser's plan, however, was turned down by the Seventeenth Ward School trustees.⁷²

Though Maeser associated with many of Utah's leading educators during his first year at the Union Academy, including Alexander Ott, Edward Schoenfield, James Cobb, and Orson Pratt, his overall experience was not rewarding. He was successful as a teacher, but he was still searching for a school system which would more nearly satisfy the needs and interests of his newly adopted land and Church. Concerning his experience at the Union Academy, he later said that "for reasons far beyond my control, I saw the impossibility of ever making a success of the school."⁷³ Long before the 1861 term

69. Ibid.

70. "The Union Academy," *Deseret News*, 11 April 1860.

71. *Deseret News*, 27 February 1875.

72. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 14 October 1861. Maeser, who thought he had the support of Brigham Young in his proposal, wrote an ill-tempered letter to President Young implying that the Seventeenth Ward School trustees had not believed he had the President's support. Consequently, Maeser felt that his "honor and good name" were at stake. This was characteristic of Maeser's impetuous nature during his early days in the Church. He did not have the steadying hand of Abraham O. Smoot, who knew how to deal with the Board of Trustees and the General Authorities. Maeser and James Cobb had apparently made up some "Deseret High School" letterheads on which they wrote the Seventeenth Ward School trustees. This irked the board of trustees, since neither the Union Academy nor the Seventeenth Ward School had approved the change of names. Maeser's letter to President Young was written on plain stationery.

73. Karl Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 355.

at the Union Academy ended, Maeser was negotiating for a position elsewhere. Bishop John Sharp, Charles Savage, and other equally prominent men were his solicitors. Finally, after a consultation with President Young, he accepted a new position and began teaching at the Twentieth Ward Seminary in the fall of 1862.⁷⁴ The Twentieth Ward School became one of the most successful in the community.⁷⁵ For those who could not attend the day school, Maeser conducted night classes.⁷⁶ He established a fully graded system, using some fine young scholars like W.H. Rager as assistants.⁷⁷ Some of his students, such as Joseph B. Toronto, J.H. Paul, and Joseph L. Rawlins, became noted scholars. However, the school still catered to the primitive structure of the pioneer community. Besides being teacher, principal, and fund raiser, Maeser served as janitor, treasurer, and secretary.⁷⁸

Maeser's educational activities are not well documented for 1862 and 1863, but he was mentioned as a leader of the seventies lecture series during 1864.⁷⁹ His topic for the lectures was "The Footsteps of God in History."

At the Twentieth Ward School, Maeser faced many of the basic problems which later confronted him at Brigham Young Academy. Although he became more or less reconciled to makeshift facilities, the moving of furniture in and out of the building each day, and the frustrating lack of equipment and resources, personal financial difficulties remained his greatest burden.⁸⁰ Therefore, in addition to his teaching responsibilities, he took an accounting job with L.W. Hardy to supplement his meager earnings. Financial difficulties continued, however, until Brigham Young offered Maeser a posi-

74. Reinhard Maeser, pp. 39-40.

75. *Biographical Records of Salt Lake City and Vicinity*, p. 380.

76. Reinhard Maeser, p. 40.

77. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 54: "While Maeser was noted for his influence through discipline, Rager won repute for exceptional and inspiring teaching ability."

78. Theodore Schreiber, "Pioneer Educator in Utah: The Story of Karl Gottfried Maeser," *American-German Review* 3 (April 1942): 16.

79. "Summary of the Past," *Deseret News*, 2 March 1864.

80. Reinhard Maeser, p. 40.

tion as teacher in the President's own school. President Young wanted his children to receive "such a course of instruction as only a thorough school teacher can give them," desiring that they be taught "better than by school mistresses."⁸¹ While teaching in Brigham Young's school, Maeser was commissioned to play the Tabernacle organ. He then had four positions: supervising the Twentieth Ward School, teaching Brigham Young's children, bookkeeping, and playing the Tabernacle organ.

Mission to Germany

All of Maeser's frantic activity was suddenly interrupted in 1867 when, as he sat in the Tabernacle at a general conference of the Church, he heard his name called to serve in the German-Swiss Mission.⁸² He left for Europe with Elder Octave Ursenbach on 10 May 1867, traveling without purse or scrip.⁸³ While traveling through Philadelphia, Maeser was prompted to call at a certain home to see if he could get financial help to pay for his passage to Europe. The man who answered the door turned out to be a Mormon named Greenwell who was on his way to Utah. Brother Greenwell provided Maeser with the necessary funds, and he continued his trip. Arriving in Germany, he became an energetic and productive missionary. In 1869 he published the first edition of the official German Church magazine, *Der Stern*. In the summer of 1869 he became president of the mission.⁸⁴ With a penchant for organization, Maeser established "a wonderful system of teacher's report books, by which it was absolutely impossible for a visiting teacher to shirk his duty without being noticed."⁸⁵ He was released from his mission on 27 February 1870, having served honorably and successfully, but

81. Brigham Young to Karl G. Maeser, 20 May 1865, Brigham Young Correspondence, Church Historical Department.

82. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:709.

83. Reinhard Maeser, p. 50. See also a memorandum dated 11 August 1969 in the BYU Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

84. Ibid., p. 68.

85. Edward Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 83.

disappointed that he had been unable to convert any of his relatives.

New Teaching Activities

Upon returning to Salt Lake City, he found that the University of Deseret had been revitalized, and he was appointed to "fill the chair of Professor of German." His load was doubled as he taught Latin and Greek History.⁸⁶ On 29 March 1871 Brigham Young announced that Professor Maeser had resigned from his position at the university to return to the Twentieth Ward Seminary.⁸⁷ Three days later John Rocky Park recorded in his journal that Chancellor Campbell had told Maeser that the University of Deseret "would not need his services next term and that he was at liberty to employ his full time in his school in the 20th Ward."

While teaching at the Twentieth Ward School, Maeser proposed a legislative bill for free schools to Brigham Young. President Young rejected the proposal, fearing that it would open the way for some parents to avoid their parental responsibilities and that "free" tax-supported schools would become totally secularized.⁸⁸

In 1873 Karl G. Maeser started the Twentieth Ward Institute,⁸⁹ which became well known throughout the territory. The Institute provided a series of lectures and meetings on the principles of teaching and soon became one of the foremost teacher training schools in the territory. Regardless of his prominence as a teacher, however, Maeser was in continuous financial difficulty. Schoenfield said that his "weakness was — and it was the only one I ever could discover — he was not successful in matters financial."⁹⁰ Because he could not pay for a deed to some property he had purchased from the Church, Maeser appealed to Brigham Young as he had

86. Journal of John Rocky Park, 8 July 1870 and 5 January 1871.

87. Minutes of the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret, 29 March 1871, University of Utah Library Special Collections.

88. Ibid., 2 March 1873.

89. Journal History, 21 January 1876.

90. Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 85.



Board of Directors of the Salt
Lake Twentieth Ward School
in 1872. Karl Maeser
is fourth from left.

done in the past. He owed the Church almost \$600, which he proposed to pay off at \$200 per year. He wanted a \$20 credit for the complete course of primary Latin he taught to Brigham Young's son Alphales. Maeser hoped that his efforts to repay Brigham Young would not be "altogether vain. Schoolteaching, you know, is not a very remunerative calling as a general thing, besides that the excessive hard work to which I am forced to keep my school above the common level as far as possible is wearing rapidly on my lungs, so that I do not know how long I will be able to stand it."⁹¹

Within a year, Karl G. Maeser left for Provo to assume the principalship of Brigham Young Academy.

Reporting for Duty at Provo

Having decided on Karl Maeser as principal, the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees met together in Provo on 15 April 1876 to prepare for the second preliminary, or, as Maeser called it, "experimental" term.⁹² The president of the Board presented the resignation of Warren N. Dusenberry, and on motion of William Bringham, "The executive committee were instructed to settle with Dusenberry for services to date."⁹³ Brother Maeser's salary, "agreeable to President Young," was set at \$1,200 "for the first year," in such pay "as was taken in by the Treasurer of the school."⁹⁴ Considering Brother Maeser's teaching experience, his position of responsibility, and the rate of pay given educators in Salt Lake City teaching at the University of Deseret, his salary was very modest, even for pioneer times.⁹⁵

91. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 4 June 1874.

92. Karl G. Maeser, "A Retrospect," *The Normal*, 4 January 1892.

93. Warren N. Dusenberry evidently spent some of his own funds during his term as principal. In June 1877 the Board was "directed to refund him his expenses" (BYA Board Minutes, 5 June 1877). The Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy was still carrying an account with the Timpanogos Branch as late as 1880 (BYA Board Minutes, November 1880).

94. BYA Board Minutes, 15 April 1876.

95. President John R. Park had been offered \$2,000 a year as principal of the University of Deseret in 1868; F.M. Bishop, Joseph L. Rawlins,

Attempting to properly greet their new principal, whom the *Deseret News* described as “a gentleman of liberal culture and education,”⁹⁶ the Board of Trustees worked to improve Academy facilities. The Lewis Building was badly run down. The fence that had been started the year before had not been completed, the cellar leaked, and the principal’s office lacked furniture.⁹⁷ The stairs between the first and second stories on the outside were left exposed to the weather.⁹⁸ When he arrived at Provo on 21 April 1876, the new principal also found that “there were no records, not much system, certainly no regularity, the former principal being so busily engaged with his court duties that school began at anytime between nine and 11 o’clock, and sometimes not at all.”⁹⁹ Even considering improvements the Board had made, Maeser “found premises inadequate, facilities limited, students few in number and poorly prepared, and financial conditions exceedingly discouraging.”¹⁰⁰

Maeser’s Experimental Term

Maeser was asked to preach in church on the Sunday of his arrival,¹⁰¹ and the Academy opened the next morning more promptly than usual:

Here was a pretty state of affairs! The idea of attempting to drag children to school at any regular hour; added indignity to insult! To dare to break into the musty-locked, ancient engraved school-hour of 9 o’clock.¹⁰²

In the last year of operation of the Timpanogos Branch, enrollment had been over two hundred students.¹⁰³ Only

and M.M. Cook had been offered \$1,600 as regular teachers (Minutes of the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret, 22 August 1872 and 22 June 1874).

96. “Going to Provo,” *Deseret News*, 10 April 1876.

97. BYA Board Minutes, 29 June 1878.

98. *Ibid.*, 30 June 1877.

99. Gates, “Maeser,” p. 482.

100. Karl Maeser, “A Retrospect,” *The Normal*, 4 January 1892.

101. Journal of Martha Coray, 23 April 1876.

102. Gates, “Maeser,” p. 482.

103. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 81.

twenty-nine showed up at the beginning of Professor Maeser's experimental term, but by the end of the term the enrollment had increased to fifty-nine.¹⁰⁴ Later, Maeser reminisced that this first class of twenty-nine pupils, "and myself the only teacher," represented "the insignificant beginning" from which "a system had been planted."¹⁰⁵

104. Brigham Young Academy Principal's Report, 24 April 1876, Current Printed Matter Section, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Principal's Report or President's Report).

105. *Utah Enquirer*, 23 May 1890. Alma Burton (*Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator*, p. 29) published a list of the original twenty-nine students taken from a scratch pad he found in the attic of the Maeser Memorial Building. The list, made at a reunion held at the residence of J.B. Keeler on 26 May 1920, contains the following twenty-nine names:

Mary J. John Cluff, Alice Smoot Newell, Olive Smoot Bean, Electa Bullock Smoot, Louise Bean Thompson, Rose Moore Searle, Hannah Billings Booth, Martha John Williams, Hannah Stubbs Jones, Rose McEwan Haws, Sarah Eggertsen Cluff, Reed Smoot, Alma Greenwood, Fannie Rogers, Diantha Billings Worsley, Zina Smoot Whitney, John J. Walton, Mary Nielson Hansen, Caddie Daniels Mills, Mary Roberts Farrer, Minerva Jones Dailey, Emma Stubbs Taylor, Rachel Ferre McEwan, S.P. Eggertsen, Joseph B. Keeler, Jonathan L. Harvey, Andrew Watson, Thomas Stradling, Marietta Riggs Beesley.

A list in N.I. Butt's file in BYU Archives, made by an unknown student, contains fifty-nine names (presumably those who attended at one time or another during the entire experimental term):

Diantha Billings (Worsley), Emma Daniels, Reed Smoot, J. Frank Bringhurst, Caddie Daniels (Mills), Joanna Patten (Harris), Minerva Jones (Dailey), Maretta Riggs (Beesley), Sarah Eggertsen (Cluff), Simon P. Eggertsen, Mary Wilson (Hansen), Louisa D. Scott (Sheppard), Theodocia Keeler (Collier), Mary Jane John (Cluff), Martha John (Williams), Maggie Kirkwood (Nielson), Amelia Curtis (Bartlett), Mary J. Roberts (Farrer), Jonathan L. Harvey, James G. Harris, Lillian Roberts (DeLong), Arletta Snow, George A. Dusenberry, Joseph Wilkins, Charles Dusenberry, Hattie Doolan (Abbot), Maggie J. Wilson (Murdock), Katie N. Maiben (Candlund), Joseph B. Keeler, Fannie Rogers, Olive Smoot (Bean), Andrew Watson, Don R. Corey, Agatha Perry, Mary E. Thatcher (Holt), Emma Stubbs (Taylor), Hannah Stubbs (Jones), Joseph B. Walton, Hannah Billings (Booth), Althena Rodgers, Altha Rodgers (Halliday), Arsena Rodgers, Alice Smoot (Newell), Stephen Moore, Electa Bullock (Smoot), Rasmine Minnie Johnson (Jepperson), Rose Davis, Thomas Stradling, Emily Kinsman (Duggins), William Beebe, Rachel Ferre (McEwan), George Thatcher, J.T. Arrowsmith, Joseph B. Clark,

Although the school's facilities were described by George Q. Cannon in 1879 as "commodious," "centrally located," and "well furnished with the appliances necessary to the comfort and encouragement of its students,"¹⁰⁶ they would not suit modern taste. The school, according to Justice George Sutherland,

stood at a corner on Center Street, a grim non-descript structure without beauty or grace or any other aesthetic feature calculated to invite a second look. The lower floor was made up of two large rooms at the front, and two small ones at the back. The upper floor had been designed for use as a theater. It consisted of one large room and a stage — both so utterly bare and gloomy as to make inappropriate any form of entertainment except tragedy.¹⁰⁷

The Lewis Building itself presented some sizeable obstacles to the operation of the Academy. Since President Young's plan was to make the school economically self-sufficient,¹⁰⁸ he donated the Lewis Building, not just as a school facility, but also as a source of supplemental income. The upper floor was rented for parties, dances, and entertainments for \$25 to \$40 per night. Concerts and cultural events cost \$20.¹⁰⁹ With drinking and rowdyism taking place over the heads of the students as they studied their lessons below, some Church

John F. Clark, Horace E. Beebe, Rose McEwan (Hawes), Alms Greenwood, Charles A. Glazier.

Alice Smoot Newell's list published in *Heart Throbs of the West* (11:96), evidently made from memory, left out some of the original twenty-nine students.

106. George Q. Cannon, "The Brigham Young Academy," *Deseret News*, 25 April 1879.
107. George Sutherland, Message to the 1941 Graduating Class of Brigham Young University, BYU Library Special Collections.
108. Joseph E. Taylor, "Life and Labors of the Late President of the Board," Abraham O. Smoot Papers, d 1323, Church Historical Department, p. 42.
109. BYA Board Minutes, 4 December 1875. Some businesses probably also used the building. Martha Coray recorded, "Boliver Roberts and Co. paid hall \$2.00 for rent" (Journal of Martha Coray, 6 December 1875). Rental receipts totaled about \$100 per year (BYA Board Minutes, 23 December 1879).

leaders argued against renting the hall for parties.¹¹⁰ Principal Maeser described the lively activities of the school during one of these “entertainments”:

The moving of the recitation benches when Theatricals or other kinds of performances are going on upstairs causes not only a great disturbance in the arrangement of the schoolrooms, but the wear and tear begins to tell upon the benches already to a very noticeable extent. Empty whiskey bottles are found after a great many of those parties around the premises and the building is shaken by round dances, so that the parties have already left the building in alarm while these dances are going on. These and other reasons of just as great import make it my duty to urge upon the Board of Directors the necessity of rectifying these complaints as soon as practicable.¹¹¹

The principal also complained of some of the students “being obliged to shift about the building” during one of these performances.¹¹²

To add to these discouragements, Provo citizens, who the year before had sent only 356 out of 1,000 of their school-aged children to school,¹¹³ were not very inclined to support the new academy. From the beginning, Principal Maeser was forced to endure pressures from the community: “To make matters still worse, there were many, even among the influential men of the community, who not only had no confidence in the stability of the new institution and its avowed educational system, but openly opposed it by using their influence against it.”¹¹⁴ The stake president was obliged to make a public statement on behalf of the principal, affirming that he was a competent teacher and administrator, “meriting the support of the people.”¹¹⁵ The National Historical Record Company noted that “Dr. Maeser experienced many trials and discour-

110. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 23 September 1879.

111. Principal's Report, 15 January 1877, p. 39.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

113. *Deseret News*, 27 February 1875.

114. Karl G. Maeser, “A Retrospect,” *The Normal*, 4 January 1892.

115. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 1 August 1876.

agements in his efforts to establish a higher system of education, and while there was a division of opinion as to the advantages to be derived from a higher education, yet the more serious problem was the lack of funds to properly carry on the work, and this last condition forced many to withhold their support who otherwise would have been most loyal supporters."¹¹⁶ County Court appropriations for 1876 were very scanty, consisting merely of transferring the equipment from the Timpanogos Branch to Brigham Young Academy.

Moral Aid for the Community

Concerned about the behavior of some of Provo's youth, ecclesiastical officers began to see the Academy as a much-needed instrument for moral instruction. Though some citizens had organized against liquor and had prohibited, or at least restricted, the sale of whiskey in Provo,¹¹⁷ and the treasurer of the Academy, H.H. Cluff, had boasted that prohibition of whiskey sales "insured a feeling of confidence on the part of the people in the County in sending their children to the Academy";¹¹⁸ nevertheless, drinking and smoking among students were problems for the new principal. The executive committee worked with the bishops of Provo wards to furnish a list of names of young men of each ward "unfit to associate with the daughters of Zion."¹¹⁹ President Smoot censured the youth of Provo, stating that "he was grieved over the outbreak of hoodlumism at the late Sunday School Jubilee on the 24th of July at Payson, as it revived the old feeling that Provo was the roughest and wildest place in the Territory." He advised the congregation that "the boys of Provo who had miscon-

116. *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity*, pp. 380-81.

117. Utah Stake Historical Record, 4 January 1876.

118. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 1 August 1876.

119. Utah Stake Historical Record, 1 February 1876. An article entitled "Advice to Young Men" which appeared in the 11 March 1874 issue of the *Provo Daily Times* described the unseemly element that haunted the streets of Provo: "Who are those whom we see at the street corners, in saloons and on the sidewalks, loafing, smoking, swearing, drinking, leering at passing females, and wasting their time and energies in those pursuits that tend to their destruction mentally,

ducted themselves at Payson would be dealt with by the Priesthood.”¹²⁰

In an effort to improve the spiritual atmosphere at the Academy, Maeser instituted religious assemblies for instruction and worship. In line with his practice at the Twentieth Ward School, he started a theological course which featured intensive study of Latter-day Saint doctrine and history. The theology classes clearly accorded with the feelings of the Board of Trustees,¹²¹ and in fact represented the feelings of the First Presidency, who had been frustrated in their attempts to get theological studies in the curriculum of the University of Deseret.¹²²

End of the Experimental Term

Maeser had hoped to direct a school which he could mold into the foundation of an inclusive pedagogical program,¹²³ but his expectations for the first year fell far short of the mark. None of his students advanced beyond the fifth reader level of grammar school.¹²⁴ Besides a general shortage of students, there was a shortage of funds which meant that some qualified

physically and morally. It is a sad sight to see men, fathers of families, so conducting themselves that the respectable part of our community shun their company.”

120. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 1 August 1876.

121. This was the controlling idea of an important letter from Martha Coray to Brigham Young on 10 April 1876. She stressed that her “principle in education has been God’s laws of religion first, Man’s laws of honor and morality second, Science of every attainable kind” third. She asked, “Does not the Deed require the sacred book [Bible] mentioned to be taken up as a study in the same way as the sciences mentioned” (Brigham Young Papers).

122. In the meeting of the University of Deseret Board of Regents held 25 October 1875, Regent George Q. Cannon asked “what the expense would be for a theological chair, in as much as he thought that some of the attendants of the University were inclined to infidelity and that it was necessary to correct any wrong idea which might be conceived by some of the students.” After the regents discussed the subject, “the Chancellor thought that a theological chair better not be established for the present.”

123. Principal’s Report, 27 October 1876, p. 19.

124. *Utah Enquirer*, 23 May 1890.

students who lacked financial support could not attend the school. During the first term he organized only the Grammar Department, which he personally instructed.¹²⁵

Maeser's plans were far-reaching, however, even if his practice was, of necessity, conservative. The Grammar Department was divided into two reading groups (fourth and fifth). There were three classes of arithmetic (A, B, C), two geography classes, a class of twenty in elocution, and a class of fifteen in rhetoric. He taught smaller classes in natural history and United States history. The whole student body was required to study spelling.¹²⁶ Maeser's skillful "grading" of the classwork proved very effective, and the *Deseret News* reported a satisfactory end to the experimental term in June 1876. The 6 July 1876 *Deseret News* reported that, under the "able supervision" of Karl G. Maeser, the Academy was "being made an unqualified success."

The first year had been difficult, but Principal Maeser saw the need for his work, laid hold of his calling as a teacher with conviction, and resolved that the Academy would fulfill its objective. As *The Normal* for 4 January 1892 noted, the experimental terms had demonstrated that "the strength of the B.Y. Academy was not in her financial condition, nor could her aims be to enter, for the present, into competition with the institutions of higher learning in our country, nor was her distinguishing characteristic to be sought in the professional efficiency of her teachers alone, for all these advantages have been claimed and enjoyed by schools of learning before." Nonetheless, the article continued, Karl G. Maeser had totally dedicated himself to the new school, knowing that "the establishment of a new kind of educational institution for Zion had been revealed by the Lord to the Prophet Brigham Young." Principal Maeser, combining his dedication to the Church with his commitment to education, became the spiritual architect of the "new kind of educational institution" that President Brigham Young had envisioned.

125. Principal's Report, 30 June 1876, p. 6.

126. Ibid.

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Underway: 1876-1884

The enthusiasm of the Dusenberry brothers promoted early interest in higher education in Utah County. A.O. Smoot and other civic leaders contributed to the development of a curriculum responsive to the religious as well as the practical needs of the community, and Brigham Young monitored the activities of Brigham Young Academy, giving financial support and spiritual guidance to the school. But it was Karl Maeser who molded the school's personality. In the tradition of the German system, this spiritual architect brought order, discipline, and a sense of destiny to the school.

The school's development in the early years seems best explained by a division of events into two broad areas, administrative and academic. The first section (chapters 5 and 6) treats the growth of the school and its struggle for financial survival. The second section (chapter 7) discusses the faculty, the student body, and Principal Maeser's philosophy of education.

Bringing in the Sheep

The Salt Lake City newspapers of 1875-76, which gave only slight attention to events in small-town Provo (population

2,800), described the first two experimental terms at Brigham Young Academy as "successful."¹ However, the experimental terms were successful only when compared with the failure of the Timpanogos Branch. Brigham Young's gift of the Lewis Building removed expensive rent payments and insured a meager source of rental income, giving the Academy a more solid base than the Timpanogos Branch had enjoyed, yet initial enrollment at the Academy was very disappointing. The Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret had terminated with ten times the enrollment with which the Academy began. O.H. Riggs attributed the decline to the Academy policy of prepaid tuition. There may have been other factors. In 1874 the territorial legislature passed a law requiring all residents to pay part of the operating expenses of county and district schools.² This tax acted to the disadvantage of Brigham Young Academy which required additional tuition. Besides financial considerations, parents hesitated to send their children to a private school with such an uncertain future. Furthermore, the experimental terms began after most local students had enrolled elsewhere.

Enrollment in the experimental terms was inadequate for financing the school. Excepting small rent receipts for the Lewis Hall, the school was dependent on tuition receipts and intermittent private donations to cover all expenses. With tuition averaging about \$4 per term,³ an enrollment of sev-

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1. Editor's Note: The modern newspaper, sometimes composed of over one hundred pages, is one of civilization's modern miracles. But, because of the speed with which it is produced, the newspaper has certain inherent limitations. One of these is that the day-to-day news must necessarily be brief and is often superficial and lacking in authenticity. It is for this reason, among others, that, with certain exceptions, facts cited in newspaper articles are not admissible as evidence in a court of law. However, they are generally relied upon for historical and related writings that do not require the scrutiny and accuracy of court proceedings. In this history we often have to rely upon facts reported in newspapers unless they are disproved by other evidence.
 2. Moffitt, *Public Education in Provo*, p. 130.
 3. BYA Board Minutes, 4 December 1875. Tuition at Brigham Young Academy was less than tuition at Maeser's earlier schools. As late as 1884 grammar school students at BYA were charged only six to seven

enty students through four consecutive terms would have barely paid the salary of \$1,200 allotted to Principal Maeser. It became painfully apparent that the Academy would go the way of the Timpanogos Branch if it could not recruit more students and attract the general support the Utah Stake residents.

School officials launched a concerted promotional campaign to increase the flock. During the 1876 summer recess, Karl G. Maeser and Wilson H. Dusenberry (then serving as both superintendent of Utah County schools and executive secretary to the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees) held public meetings to promote the Academy in Utah County towns, "finding everywhere the greatest encouragement."⁴ While Principal Maeser barnstormed for the Academy, the Utah Stake Presidency was urging the community to help shoulder the burden of operating the school. Bishop Myron Tanner of the Provo Third Ward, member of the Academy Board of Trustees, deplored the financial strain under which the school was "grovelling."⁵ President Smoot offered "to draw on his own purse" to help pay school operating costs. His offer, tempting as it must have been, was refused on the grounds that it would be "inequitable" for the stake president to assume such a burden when members of the entire stake should be responsible for raising the needed funds.⁶ By the end of the 1876 summer, the Academy budget showed a balance of only \$101.36.⁷

The trustees, nevertheless, adhered to their prepaid tuition policy, and as the fall term opened, enrollment totaled ninety-seven.⁸ Cumulative enrollment for the first year was 273.⁹ Enrollment increased during the 1877-78 school year,

dollars per term; academic students, seven to nine dollars per term; and normal students, ten dollars per term.

4. Principal's Report, 27 October 1876.

5. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 17 July 1877.

6. Ibid.

7. BYA Board Minutes, 14 August 1876.

8. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1884-85, p. 3. Copies of early Brigham Young Academy circulars are on file in the BYU Archives.

9. Register of Brigham Young Academy, 1876 to 1882, UA 219, vol. 1, BYU Archives.

Expenditure for Teacher Salaries, 1877-82

Year	1877-78	1878-79	1879-80	1880-81	1881-82
Commodities					
Amount	\$1,317.12	2,098.02	3,133.73	2,763.40	1,748.22
Percent of Total	59	66	65	65	41
Cash					
Amount	\$ 948.33	1,073.35	1,697.08	1,500.50	2,484.78
Percent of Total	41	34	35	35	59
Total	\$2,265.45	3,171.37	4,830.81	4,263.90	4,233.00

with a cumulative enrollment of 333. The sheep were coming in.

Despite increased enrollment, the Academy still had financial problems. Fees were low, and very little of the incoming tuition was paid in cash. Residents generally brought their grain, fruit, beef, cloth, and other commodities to the tithing office where they received the value of the goods in scrip which was then used to pay tuition at the school. Teachers used the scrip to procure supplies at local stores and at the tithing office. Payment in commodities (*see* accompanying table) remained the predominant means of compensating BYA teachers until the seventh academic year. By the end of the first academic year there was a desperate need for more teachers, but economic conditions made it impossible to increase the faculty. Financially speaking, the Academy was barely holding her own.

The Normal School

From the beginning it was apparent that the solution to much of the Academy's financial problem lay in the development of a normal or teacher-training program. Utah County, like most counties in the territory, had been sending teacher-training candidates to the University of Deseret.¹⁰ Each year the counties appropriated money to the University of Deseret for tuition of prospective teachers, thus guaranteeing the school a reliable income. Such a system benefitted the university, provided a free year's study for the scholar, and supplied needed teachers to the county. Hoping to establish a similar program, Brigham Young Academy sought appropriations from Utah County, pointing out the advantages of training local teachers in a local school. The idea soon bore fruit, as Utah County began supporting the Normal Department.

Maeser had advocated a normal school from the beginning of the Academy. Thus, "in conformity with the whole plan of the Academy," he organized a "Normal Class, inviting stu-

10. John Taylor to Wilson H. Dusenberry, 10 August 1878, John Taylor Letter Book, Church Historical Department.

dents of the Grammar Department to join it." Nine students volunteered and "continued diligently in the studies pertaining to this branch. The Normal Class met four times a week and the exercises consisted of lectures and class drills."¹¹ Tuition for normal students was \$10 for a ten-week term.

Some prominent future educators and citizens were enrolled in the first normal class, including "Teenie" Smoot, Joseph Keeler, and James Myron Tanner, all of whom later taught at the Academy. The class also included George Sutherland, who later became a United States Senator and then a justice of the United States Supreme Court.¹² The normal course soon developed into a well-structured program which rapidly became a credit to both the school and the community.

Maeser and the Board invited members of the county court to visit the Normal Department and compare it with the University of Deseret.¹³ County court members were pleased with what they saw. In a meeting held 5 September 1876, County School Superintendent Wilson H. Dusenberry reported that he "had made temporary arrangements with the Executive Committee of BYA to have a Normal Class taught every day in the said Academy by their Principal, Karl G. Maeser." The superintendent "requested the Court to assist in the maintenance of the said class, that the county may at an early day be supplied with competent teachers." Dusenberry "was directed to canvass the County on this subject and ascertain the number of young men and women" who would attend the "Normal Class for a period of six months or more."¹⁴ Two

11. Principal's Report, 27 October 1876, p. 19.

12. Gates, "Maeser," p. 483.

13. "County court" was the name given to administrators of the Utah County government. The court was composed of the county probate judge, his selectmen or commissioners, and the county superintendent of schools. Although the territory could not legally allot public funds to a private school, it did apportion sums to the county, which the latter dispersed at its own discretion for educational purposes. Original county court records noted that "the religious homogeneity" of the residents of Utah County "eliminated any opposition to the court giving assistance to a private school."

14. Utah County Court Records, 5 September 1876.

months later, after completing the survey, Superintendent Dusenberry “submitted a petition asking aid for the support of the Normal Class.” He was instructed to notify the citizens that the court would provide the tuition for twenty-six pupils “to attend the said normal class and the academic department of the BYA.”¹⁵ The funds provided by the county court broadened the geographical representation of the student body, as pupils came to the normal class from every community in the county.

Maeser and Dusenberry extended the normal work by promoting a series of Saturday lectures to be delivered by Professor Maeser to local teachers. County teachers met once “every other Saturday” during the winter.¹⁶

On 7 March 1877, after reviewing operations of the normal class and teachers institute, the county allotted \$300 to Brigham Young Academy. Anxious to gain further support, Maeser invited county officials to revisit the school and evaluate the operational needs of the Normal Department. Accordingly, a tour was arranged for the county leaders in the last month of the term, and when they saw the school’s need for better facilities, they increased the allotment by several hundred dollars in June.¹⁷

With this modest financial boon, the school finished off the year under relatively comfortable circumstances. Optimism reigned at the closing exercises of the third term. William Bringham of the Board congratulated the faculty “on the prosperity of the present” and “the anticipations of the future,” concluding that “he had never listened to a report of any school or academy reflecting such credit on teachers and pupils.”¹⁸ Thus, Brigham Young Academy was soon in a better position than the Timpanogos Branch had ever been.

The 1877 Deed of Trust

The financial aid proffered by Utah County was not the

15. Ibid., 10 November 1876.

16. Principal’s Report, 15 January 1877, p. 38.

17. Utah County Court Records, 5 June 1877.

18. Principal’s Report, 26 March 1877, p. 64.

only good news the Academy received in 1877. President Brigham Young contributed a second time to establish the Academy even more firmly. On the first of June he executed a second trust indenture, conveying to the Board of Trustees 3.1 acres of land located only a few blocks east of the school. This land and all its income were designated “for the use and benefit of sustaining the BYA,” subject to conditions similar to those which accompanied the original Deed of Trust.¹⁹ This property, worth between \$12,000 and \$16,000, included the entire block between Center Street and First North and Academy Avenue and First East except the southwest corner upon which stood the Provo Co-op Store (*see* accompanying map).²⁰ Since the Provo tithing storehouses stood on this land, the Church became a tenant on the property, paying rent for the use of the buildings conveyed to Brigham Young Academy. The new real estate more than doubled the net worth of the school. With the signing of the Second Deed, the immediate future of the Academy seemed secure. The school experienced a period of solid growth and improved financial stability.

On 29 August 1877 Brigham Young died suddenly, leaving the school in the hands of the local board. George Q. Cannon said that on the very day of his death, Brigham Young had planned to sign still another deed conveying additional property to the Academy. President Young’s death was a great blow to the school he had founded. However, in spite of the loss of BYA’s founder and most important benefactor, the early years of the Academy continued to be characterized by high morale, growth in enrollment, and effective institutional development.

After the death of Brigham Young the Board of Trustees played an even more important part in school affairs. The seven Board members, with their different backgrounds and interests, constituted a rich administrative unit. Maeser, who was entirely responsible for the academic program of the

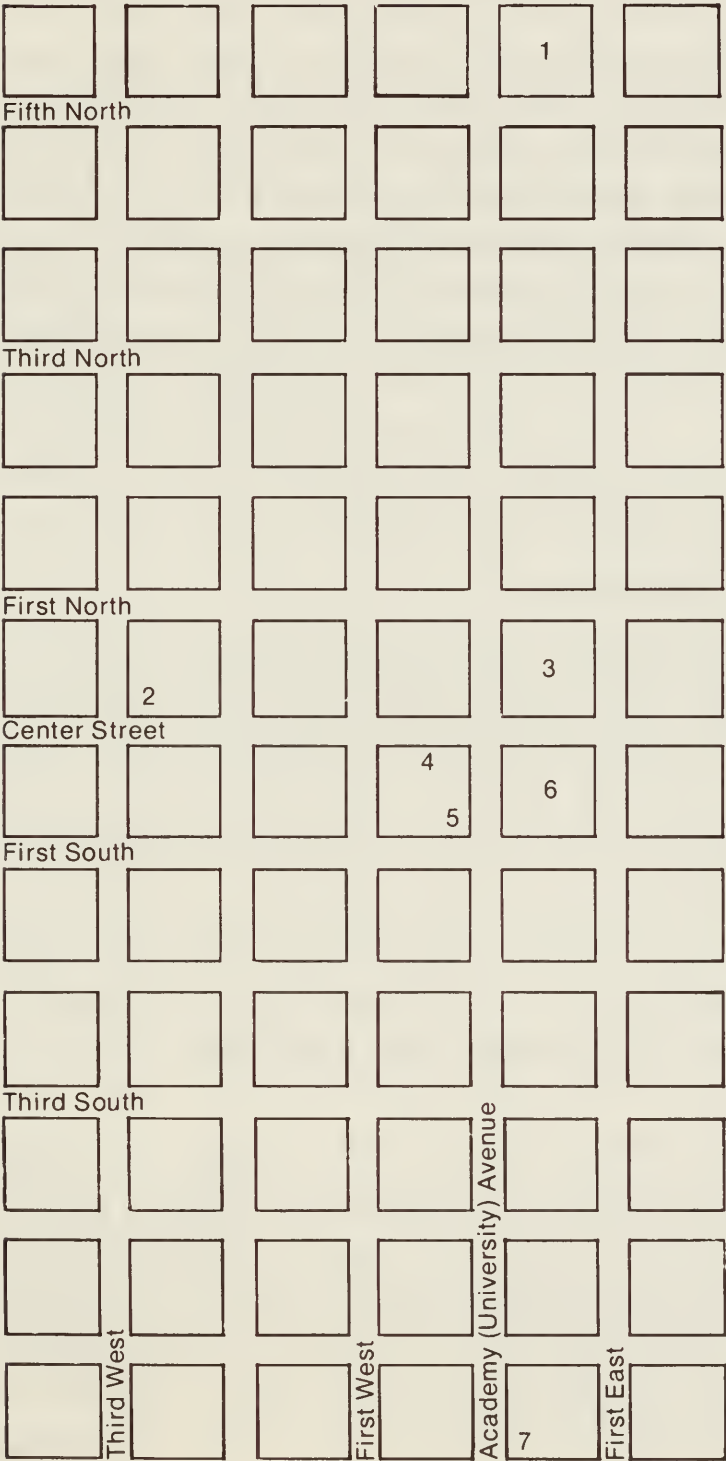
19. For a copy of the indenture, see BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877.

20. BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877.

Provo Sites Important to Early Brigham Young Academy History

1. Academy Block
 2. Lewis Building and Property
 3. Tithing Block
 4. Old Stake Tabernacle

5. New Stake Tabernacle
 6. County Courthouse
 7. ZCMI Warehouse



school, made the Board aware of faculty and student needs. The Trustees in turn approved or disapproved his recommendations, decided on faculty appointments, administered financial affairs, disbursed materials, made equipment appropriations, and handled scores of other nonacademic matters.

Though all Board members were dedicated to the Academy, Board President Abraham O. Smoot was largely responsible for the survival of the school. While Maeser was the spiritual architect of Brigham Young Academy, Smoot was its financial savior. He had his enemies. His stubborn, persistent nature and his determination to carry out his trust sometimes offended people, but they nevertheless followed his leadership, which yielded perpetual dividends to the Academy.²¹ Besides having great administrative dedication and ability, Smoot had the confidence of the Brethren in Salt Lake City as much as any person in the Church.

More Barnstorming

The years 1878 to 1880 were interlaced with more publicity campaigns. The intensity of these efforts sparked an early rivalry with other schools, most noticeably the University of Deseret. Karl G. Maeser and Milton Hardy made tours throughout the territory and the Church stakes in the interest of the Academy.²² Between 1878 and 1880 Academy officials made at least three recruitment campaigns. Maeser and Hardy, joined in 1880 by James E. Talmage, visited almost every county in the territory as well as some of the southern counties of Idaho where Mormon influence was greatest.²³

21. In a letter dated 7 December 1883, S.S. Jones complained to L. John Nuttall about Smoot's appointment of Warren N. Dusenberry to an unnamed position. He claimed the Utah Stake High Council and others were "afraid of A.O. Smoot," that should Smoot indicate his desires in "the slightest manner," there were "several here [Provo] who would fall in with the idea at once" (L. John Nuttall Papers, Mss. 188, box 2, number 26, BYU Library Special Collections).

22. L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, 15 June 1880, John Taylor Letter Book, box 7, John Taylor Papers.

23. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, 5 June 1880, Karl G. Maeser Papers,

John R. Park, principal of the University of Deseret, and Louis F. Moench, superintendent of district schools of Weber County, also toured the territory proselyting for students.²⁴

Talmage, who at the time was only in his teens, won the respect of school and Church leaders alike as he accompanied Maeser on the northern and southern Utah tours. His diary contains some interesting anecdotes about the principal. Before leaving the Provo depot on their trip south, Maeser, his son Reinhard, and Talmage were waiting for railroad passes from President John Taylor. There had already been considerable delay as Bishop Paxman of American Fork, who had been instructed by President Taylor to deliver the passes to the waiting party, was late in arriving. Finally, lest they miss their train, Warren Dusenberry stepped in and paid the passage. According to Talmage,

Once on the train the Professor succeeded in breathing freely again. He is so nervous in temperament that any circumstances inclined in the least to disturb the equanimity of his soul produces disastrous effects; and this morning's occurrence furnished a fair example. To watch him while undergoing the suspense of awaiting Bp. Paxman's arrival was painful and especially so when the train whistle sounded and still the suspense.²⁵

In Parowan the trio spoke of the value of a Brigham Young Academy education. Talmage noted that Professor Maeser

likes to talk and is as on hot bricks while anyone else is talking. He instructed Reinhard and me that in our meetings neither of us should speak more than 10 to 15 minutes and this evening herein asked that we should "cut down" our remarks to give him more time. We

box 2, folder 3, Church Historical Department. *See also* Principal's Report, 18 June 1880.

24. *Deseret News*, 15 February 1901. *See also* John Taylor Papers, 6 June 1879. President John Taylor served simultaneously as President of the LDS Church (1878-86) and territorial superintendent of public schools (1877-81).
25. Journal of James E. Talmage, 7 July 1881, BYU Library Special Collections.

silently rebelled, and as prearranged each announced that evening that we had but 10 minutes to occupy and hence the audience would please excuse if our remarks were disconnected.²⁶

Ten days later, while speaking to a gathering in St. George, Talmage “made the Professor terribly mad” because he “didn’t feel like stopping after 10 minutes.” When he did stop, Maeser “declined at first to speak at all but afterward changed his decision.”²⁷

As recruitment efforts intensified, competition between the territorial school and the Church school heated up, and rumors spread that the principals of the two institutions were not on friendly terms with each other. This feeling became so wide-spread that Maeser was forced to officially refute the spreading speculation. In a letter to President Taylor explaining his reasons for not making an excursion southward with Principal Park, Maeser wrote, “There is no jealousy, nor was there ever any between Dr. Park and myself. My reasons for avoiding the appearance of competition in the eyes of the people were those of delicacy only.”²⁸

Maeser and his colleagues had the tougher job of recruiting since the University of Deseret was publicly supported by taxes while Brigham Young Academy depended primarily on tuition, grants, and private donations. Nevertheless, their efforts were successful. During the 1878-79 school year approximately 100 students were attending the Academy per term, but, by the fall of 1880, 313 scholars were crowding into the old Lewis Building.

Appeals “To the Saints in Zion”

Throughout the 1878-79 school year the Trustees worked to upgrade the institution. In June 1879 they wrote “To the Saints in Zion”:

26. Ibid., 14 July 1881.

27. Ibid., 24 July 1881.

28. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, 23 June 1880, box 2, folder 3, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

In spite of the difficulties arising from the disappointment in their hopes at the death of President Young, the Board of Trustees and the faculty have endeavored to execute the designs of the Academy, and, under the blessings of Israel's God, results gained thus far have surpassed their most sanguine expectations. But . . . without some more facilities in regard to books, chemical laboratory, physical apparatus, etc., further advancement is impossible, and the attendance of students on the other hand, amounting already to 375 registered during the 3rd academical year just ended, making greater and more appropriate accommodations indispensable, and also the tuition [the only revenue at the disposal of the Board] being so low that the attendance of this Academy has been placed within the reach of the greatest possible number — the Brigham Young Academy finds itself under the necessity of appealing for aid to its natural patron — the People of The Latter-day Saints.

When many denominations of Christendom are raising thousands of dollars annually for the purpose of establishing and maintaining schools in which to allure our children away from the faith of their fathers the Latter-day Saints can certainly make a similar effort for the purpose of an institution, that endeavors to teach the children of this people, in connection with the arts and sciences, how to keep their faith, and to train teachers for the same end.²⁹

Later in the letter the Board pleaded for \$10,000 to assist in operating the Academy. All counties in the territory were encouraged to follow the example of Utah County, which was paying the tuition of twenty-five normal students at the Academy. The letter concluded by stating that President John Taylor had "consented to appoint a Committee of Subscription for every Stake of Zion."

This first "call to the Saints in Zion" was not successful in rallying to the Academy the financial support it needed, even though the Academy's growing normal program had spread

29. From *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, issued 29 June 1879. This was the first official circular of the Academy.

by this time to many other counties. On the strength of its territory-wide reputation as a teacher-training institution, the school appealed to the First Presidency for assistance in obtaining legislative appropriation. John Taylor, perceiving that a direct appeal to the territorial legislature might precipitate a legal and political debate because the Academy was a private institution, decided not to approach the legislature. Instead, he attempted to secure funds by addressing the separate counties, hoping that when the counties saw the advantages of the Church school they might, "at their discretion," promote a beneficiary program similar to that of Utah County. He specifically suggested "the propriety of three other counties uniting with Utah." He also hoped that "something more substantial" would be done "in the shape of county aid."³⁰

One month after the appeal "To the Saints in Zion," the Board of Trustees addressed residents of Wasatch, Juab, and San Pete stakes. Since there was no distinction at that time between stakes and counties, the Board was actually making its appeal to the residents of all surrounding counties.³¹ The letter spoke of Brigham Young Academy as a "central institution" among these neighboring stakes. It promised that "if the above named Stakes and others, as suggested by President Taylor, will cooperate with Utah Stake in a manner as their ability, interest in, and concern for their own schools in particular, and the cause of sound education in general, may indicate to them, the board of trustees of this academy are prepared to enter into such arrangements with them as will secure to all parties the attainment" of a successful normal training program.³²

These campaigns were only partially successful; no other stake set up a beneficiary program like that of Utah Stake. However, capable students from stakes throughout the terri-

30. Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, 1880, p. 132.

31. Alvin C. Koritz, "The Development of Municipal Government in the Territory of Utah" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 43-54.

32. *Deseret News*, 21 July 1879.



Students in front of the Lewis Building at Third West and Center Street, first home of Brigham Young Academy.

tory began attending Brigham Young Academy. By 1884 enrollment at the Academy included students from Nevada, Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming, California, New Mexico, and almost every county in Utah.³³

With continued assistance from Wilson Dusenberry, Utah County remained a source of income and encouragement to the school in 1879. Beyond the appropriations for normal students, the county gave \$400 to BYA in response to a communication from “young ladies and gentlemen” of the county who desired to attend the school.³⁴ Though only one of forty schools in Utah County, BYA consistently received about fifteen percent of the county’s total territorial allotment for education.³⁵ The bulk of the appropriations went for tuition expenses, but on occasion the county appropriated funds for improved equipment and instructional aids.³⁶ With tuition rates for normal students set at \$10 per term or \$40 per year, the standard county appropriation of \$400 per year paid the full tuition of only ten normal students.

The Church Normal Appropriations Program

Around 1880 the rise of secular education in Utah became a crucial factor in the development of Brigham Young Academy’s teacher-training program. Non-Mormon educators, hoping to “enlighten” the Mormon youth, began to establish prosperous, well-ordered schools in Utah (*see* appendix 8). The Saints’ reaction to this challenge brought BYA additional support from the Church. George Q. Cannon wrote Principal Maeser that “My confidence, faith and prayers are always extended towards you in your efforts on educational matters. I sincerely hope that the Brigham Young Academy will gain more influence and power every day. I

33. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1884-85, p. 3.

34. Utah County Court Records, 2 September 1879. Allocations to Brigham Young Academy from the county court during the period from 1877 to 1883 were \$300 in 1877; \$570 in 1878; \$560 in 1879; \$620 in 1880; \$555 in 1881; \$400 in 1882; and \$400 in 1883.

35. Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, 31 January 1878.

36. BYA Board Minutes, 28 June 1879.

think it an institution like which there are too few in the land, and I am sure whatever the results may be to you in a pecuniary sense that it will always be a gratification to you in your life when you see the fruits of your labors.”³⁷

In the summer of 1882 Academy administrators became aware that the Church was planning to set up a normal fund for the school. On August 18 Maeser wrote L. John Nuttall, executive secretary to the First Presidency, to request Church financial support for Brigham Young Academy’s normal program.³⁸ Ten days later Brother Nuttall returned the following “glad tidings”: “I am directed to inform you that by action of the First Presidency, an appropriation of \$400 in produce tithing was made.” The appropriation was to provide for ten teacher-training students. Maeser had already forwarded the names of six applicants, all girls. Nuttall reminded him that “there should at least be one half of our normals males.”³⁹ This \$400, which seems small today, was nevertheless the beginning of Church assistance to the school, establishing the precedent for Church financial support of the institution.

During the 1882-83 school year, the first year of Church appropriation, the Academy administration and the Church prescribed conditions for safeguarding and enlarging the funds of the Academy. When a Church normal student resigned, Karl G. Maeser recommended Hyrum Harris to take his place and suggested to the First Presidency that all LDS normal students who resigned should refund the amount expended by the Church for their education. Maeser also recommended that those who graduated with Church aid should “labor as teachers for at least one year in one of the schools among the Saints.”⁴⁰ These suggestions were both approved by the First Presidency.⁴¹

37. George Q. Cannon Papers, 1 July 1881, Church Historical Department.

38. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 18 August 1882.

39. L. John Nuttall Papers, 28 August 1882.

40. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 9 April 1883, L. John Nuttall Papers.

41. Nuttall to Maeser, 16 May 1883, L. John Nuttall Papers.



John Taylor, President of
The Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints from
1880 to 1887

Courtesy Church Archives, The Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The Church normal appropriations program worked both to the benefit of the school and to the benefit of the Church, providing a source of income for the school and a source of trained teachers for the Church.⁴² The program also strengthened bonds between Brigham Young Academy and the Church. Church leaders increasingly came to depend on teachers trained at the Academy to promulgate the Mormon ideal of a theological and practical education. The Church also began to rely on the ideas and proposals of Brigham Young Academy faculty members. Finally, the beneficiary program broadened the regional representation of the school's growing enrollment. Teachers who had graduated from Brigham Young Academy became the school's best publicity agents.

The normal appropriations program of the Church helped fulfill President Cannon's desire "that the Brigham Young Academy gain more influence and power every day."⁴³ Not just Provo, but many areas of Utah and other states began to recognize the Academy as a preeminent normal institution. The school was in better financial condition than at any time in its history, and Karl G. Maeser was a very happy man, described by his daughter as happier than he had ever been. The young school was on its way.

42. There was a severe shortage of trained teachers in the territory. On 18 November 1882 Karl Maeser wrote President John Taylor that, despite requests for teachers, the Academy could not supply trained instructors to Monroe, Meadow, Minersville, or St. George.

43. George Q. Cannon to Karl G. Maeser, 1 July 1881, George Q. Cannon Papers.

6

Nailing Her Colors to the Mast: 1884-1892

The Burning of the Campus

On the night of 27 January 1884 a fire of undetermined origin burned the entire Lewis Building. Since Brigham Young, founder and benefactor, was no longer alive to aid the school, many thought that the fire meant the end of Brigham Young Academy. Not Karl G. Maeser. Reed Smoot met Maeser on the street and said, "Oh, Brother Maeser, the Academy has burned." Maeser answered, "No such thing, it's only the building." So the school continued. Nevertheless, even though classes moved to other facilities after the fire, the school floundered in debt and despair for a decade after the loss of the Lewis Building. The fire ended what were called the school's prosperous days, bringing discouragement to everyone connected with the Academy.

Ferdinand E. Ericksen, an Academy student at the time, wrote his sweetheart that "it seemed rather a hard sight to behold the Academy in ruins last Monday morning: the dear old place where so many happy days had been spent to such good advantage; and it appeared to me almost like I was left



Ruins of the Lewis Building
after it burned on 27 January 1884.

without a home.”¹ Abraham O. Smoot gave a detailed account of the fire:

Last night about ten-thirty a fire broke out in the Brigham Young Academy. As soon as possible men were sent through the street calling “Fire.” The meeting house bell was rung and immediately men from all parts [of] town were at work tearing down the adjoining buildings and pouring water over the remains. Two rows of men were formed from the burning building to the mill race about a block away, one row handing the empty buckets, the other those filled with water. Most of the furniture was saved by the students and bystanders removing it after the alarm had been circulated. There being no wind, the fire did not spread, but the flames of the burning academy were seen from Provo bench, a distance of from five to ten miles. . . . Estimate loss fifteen thousand; a meeting has been appointed at ten this morning to decide on the course to pursue. A guard is now around [the] ruins.²

Maeser’s daughter Eva later described the feelings of the Maeser family after the fire:

It was not a very exciting time. . . . I realize now how my mother must have felt because it was the first time since she had come to America when they really felt that they had some little security with Father teaching. And oh, Father was happy, very, very happy. . . . Then I remember in the morning, after the fire, the home was very quiet; everybody, of course, was concerned what it would mean, what it did mean to the family.³

Not everything was lost. The musical instruments and most of the physical apparatus were saved.⁴ Much on the first floor,

1. Ferdinand E. Ericksen to Clementina Morrison, 2 February 1884, Ferdinand Ericksen Papers in custody of Elizabeth Kiddle, Claresholm, Alberta, Canada.
2. Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 28 January 1884, Church Historical Department.
3. Interview with Eva Maeser Crandall conducted 26 June 1964 by Hollis Scott, BYU Archives, p. 37.
4. *Academic Review* 1 (October 1884): 3. Begun in October 1884, the

including most of the library, was rescued. But the upper rooms were totally gutted, and everything in them was lost except the organ and some small furniture items saved by rescue teams. Unfortunately, most early records of the Timpanogos Branch and some records of Brigham Young Academy were also consumed by the flames. The fire probably began on the second floor. Some felt it was the work of arsonists. Others supposed that the fire started among the torch lighters, lanterns, and oils stored behind the stage near the curtains for use in theatrical productions.⁵ No watchman was on duty at the time, so the cause of the fire has never been satisfactorily explained.⁶ Since there was no fire insurance on the building, the Academy lost property worth at least \$15,000 in the blaze.

On 28 January 1884 the Board telegraphed the First Presidency: "B. Y. Academy destroyed by fire 10:30 P.M. last night, part of the furniture escaped, meeting of board faculty and students this 10 A.M. in meeting house, have you any instructions to give?"⁷ January 28 was to have been the beginning of the third term of the Academy's eighth academic year. By quick action of the Board, rooms in the Provo Tabernacle on Center Street, rooms in the bank controlled by A. O. Smoot, and upstairs rooms in S. S. Jones's Furniture Store were secured for classwork. The school opened after a postponement of only one day.⁸ The Lewis Building, however, was but a charred ruin, and the future of Brigham Young Academy was uncertain. "In such times as these," said Maeser, "the ship of Zion is passing under the dark shadows of hovering storm clouds."⁹

Obtaining appropriate accommodations was only the initial

Academic Review was a publication of the Brigham Young Academy Polycephical Society. The journal is on microfilm in the BYU Library.

5. Eva Maeser Crandall interview, pp. 35-36.
6. Journal of James E. Talmage, 4 February 1884.
7. Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 28 January 1884.
8. BYA Board Minutes, 16 February 1884.
9. James E. Talmage, "Brigham Young Academy: Close of a Highly Successful Term" *Deseret News*, 8 April 1885.

difficulty. Rent payments for temporary facilities became a constant drain, and administrative difficulties, coupled with high costs, delayed completion of new facilities for eight years. Enrollment slackened, resulting in reduced tuition receipts. Faculty members often went months without pay. In addition to these financial problems, certain heirs of Brigham Young, who had the legal right to approve administrative decisions, failed to support a new building program. Until the school obtained full control of its property and policies, its future lay in the hands of others, some of whom opposed the Academy. During the years 1886 and 1887 a spirit of despondence hung over the institution.

Disconcerting winds blew strong from other directions. There were plans for a Methodist University which would openly compete with the Academy. More threatening to the school, the Church contemplated establishing an official university in Salt Lake City. Economic and religious upheavals in Utah further distracted attention from the school. In February 1887 polygamy was outlawed by the Edmunds-Tucker Act, and subsequent Supreme Court decisions held the act constitutional. United States Marshals began arresting leading Church authorities who were living in plural marriage. The government confiscated Church property. Together, these developments played havoc with Mormon community life. The school, not aloof, was caught up in this conflict between Church and state (*see* appendix 8).

Not everything was so bleak. In 1888 the Church Board of Education was organized, and friends of the Academy obtained leading positions on the Board. Indomitable men like Maeser and Smoot supported the Academy through its most difficult times. The constant concern of John Taylor and others in the leading councils of the Church, the frugal assistance from Utah Stake leaders, the sacrifices of faculty and Board members, and loyalty of its student body enabled Brigham Young Academy to continue, making the school's survival more miraculous than its creation.

Aftermath of the Fire

The *Deseret News* called the fire “a grand opportunity” for this people to show their appreciation of this noble institution, and the faithful labors of Professor Maeser, with his teachers, by contributions from one and all. Let it indeed be said that Zion loves her children, and like the faithful mother she is, restore with more than former facilities the Brigham Young Academy. And as each one expresses his sorrow at this blow, let him question himself—as did the good Quaker, “I feel sorry five dollars worth, how much do you feel sorry?”¹⁰

Many Church leaders also maintained that “it was a good thing that the old building was burned and that a beautiful structure would be reared on its ashes.”¹¹ Salt Lake editors, estimating that a new structure could be built for about \$30,000, urged the people to rally and raise this sum.¹² John Taylor, acting as President and Trustee-in-Trust for the Church, immediately assigned \$5,000 of Church funds to assist in the erection of a new building. George Q. Cannon, first counselor and nephew to President Taylor, who never wavered in his support of the Academy, headed the list of private donors. Continuing the campaign for a new Academy Building, President Smoot distributed “subscription lists” among the wards of Utah Stake, asking Church members to contribute what they could to Brigham Young Academy. The drive proved “satisfactory, especially from the Wards of Provo.”¹³ Smoot even took advantage of a touring theatrical troupe which offered to donate half of its profit to the Academy’s building fund.¹⁴

Had the Board agreed to rebuild the Academy on the site of the Lewis Building, it might have saved both time and money,

10. “The Fire at Provo,” *Deseret News*, 29 January 1884.

11. Utah Stake Historical Records, 2 February 1884.

12. “The Academy: Progress of the Efforts for a New Building,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 3 February 1884.

13. Utah Stake Historical Records, 2 March 1884.

14. *Ibid.*, 2 February 1884.

but the vision of a much larger school capable of accommodating an ever-increasing enrollment compelled the Trustees to purchase a larger piece of property elsewhere, while retaining their two pieces of property on Center Street for needed income and negotiable assets. In March 1884 Utah Stake authorities, along with President John Taylor and other General Authorities, examined potential building sites.¹⁵ The Trustees, on the strength of President John Taylor's recommendation, decided to purchase the Lewis Block (where the Academy Building on lower campus now stands) rather than to accept property two blocks north which President Smoot offered free of charge.¹⁶ President Taylor had also turned down a prior offer of help from President Smoot.¹⁷

In April 1884, using some of the money advanced by the Church, the school paid \$1,300 of the \$4,800 purchase price of the land.¹⁸ In May 1884 the property was dedicated by stake and Academy officials and "excavation was begun the following day."¹⁹ President David John, first counselor to President Smoot, criticized Church members for not helping more, as the stake was only able to muster three teams for the excavation.²⁰ Due to illness, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., original superintendent of the excavation, was replaced by his uncle Harvey H. Cluff, who was the school's treasurer and second counselor in the Utah Stake Presidency.²¹ President Cluff's crew completed the basement by snowfall at a cost of about \$1,000 more than anticipated.²²

President Smoot reported to John Taylor that it was "very

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15. See Journal of L. John Nuttall, 2 March 1884, BYU Library Special Collections.
 16. Utah Stake Historical Records, 29 March 1884.
 17. Journal of L. John Nuttall, 2 March 1884.
 18. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot et al., 14 December 1885, John Taylor Papers. See also H. H. Cluff to John Taylor, 14 April 1884, John Taylor Papers.
 19. Brigham Young Academy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 23 May 1884, cataloged as BY Academy Faculty Minutes, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as BYA Faculty Minutes).
 20. Utah Stake Historical Records, 31 May 1884.
 21. BYA Board Minutes, 28 July 1884.
 22. Utah Stake Historical Records, 2 August 1884.

difficult to collect means, under the present circumstances, to aid in the erection" of the Academy Building. He asked President Taylor "to advance the remainder of your \$5000.00 subscription which will assist laborers who have worked on the building to settle some labor Tithing and greatly relieve the hands of the Committee who find themselves in debt."²³ Though John Taylor approved the request, by the year's end much more than the original subscription had been spent on construction, and the work ceased. Because of economic problems in Provo, enrollment at the school declined in 1885, and the Academy, facing bankruptcy, announced that further construction on the project would be postponed indefinitely despite "the earnest determination of the Board to bring the new buildings to an early completion."²⁴

Work on the building was not resumed until 1891. Meanwhile, the school's unimproved property yielded no income while the Academy was compelled to pay an annual rent of \$1200 for temporary accommodations. The school's boarding-house also proved a financial burden and was discontinued. Further adding to economic problems, Utah County cancelled its appropriation to the Normal Department.²⁵

A Foster Home for the Academy

After the fire, the Normal, Commercial, and Academic Departments met on the second floor of the First National Bank.²⁶ The lower grades began meeting in the old stake

23. A. O. Smoot, H. H. Cluff, W. H. Dusenberry to John Taylor, 27 December 1884, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

24. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1885-86, p. 5.

25. John Nuttall wrote Maeser, "I am sorry that the County Court of Utah County should feel so led as to stop the appropriation for the usual number of Normals as beneficiaries of the County, especially on the plea that their finances are low. For when I look at my increased tax notices from Provo every year, I am led to wonder, as no doubt others do, why the County finances should be low when such a laudable purpose is in view — the proper education of Teachers for our Schools."

26. BYA Faculty Minutes, 29 January 1884.

tabernacle on Center Street, but these arrangements lasted only four days. Then the Intermediate Department moved into part of S. S. Jones's store just north of the bank. To provide better accommodations for the advanced grades, arrangements were made to use the new Smoot Store on the bank block.²⁷ Even the homes of President Smoot and Judge Warren Dusenberry hosted small study and recitation groups.

Before the end of the 1884 spring term, school officials, realizing they would have to vacate both the bank and Jones's store, decided to make new arrangements.²⁸ They recognized that unless the Academy could find adequate facilities school enrollment would decline. The Trustees unanimously agreed to approach the Church-established department store, ZCMI, to determine if the warehouse on 500 South Main (University) could be secured for one year. In July Thomas G. Webber, secretary and treasurer of ZCMI, advised that the "Directors are willing and anxious to aid your Academy to the best of their ability and have passed resolutions, to let you have the upper room of our building."²⁹ President John Taylor probably helped persuade Horace Eldredge, head of ZCMI, to grant the Academy's request.³⁰ Furthermore, President Taylor subscribed an additional \$1,000 of Church money, which paid for half of the remodeling of the ZCMI facilities. Taking advantage of the size of the ZCMI warehouse, the Academy used all of the top floor and half of the first floor of the building.³¹

The Tithing Block Dispute

While the school conducted classes in the warehouse in the fall of 1884, construction continued on the new building,

27. BYA Board Minutes, 2 February 1884.

28. BYA Faculty Minutes, 29 February 1884.

29. BYA Board Minutes, 11 July 1884.

30. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot et al., 14 December 1885, John Taylor Papers.

31. BYA Faculty Minutes, 4 September 1884. For a description of the building, see *Territorial Enquirer*, 12 September 1884; and a letter from James E. Talmage published in the 4 September 1884 issue of the *Deseret News*.



ZCMI warehouse at Fifth South
and Academy (University) Avenue,
home of Brigham Young Academy
between January 1884 and January 1892.

Smoot Drug, First National Bank
Building (owned by Abraham O. Smoot),
and S. S. Jones's store (on right).
These buildings temporarily
housed Brigham Young Academy classes.

Old Provo meetinghouse (left)
and Provo Tabernacle (right).
The old meetinghouse temporarily
housed a few Brigham Young
Academy classes in 1884.



which incurred a sizeable debt. Besides construction costs, the school paid out funds to rent the bank and store and to remodel the warehouse.³² Decreased enrollment lowered tuition receipts so much that the faculty worked without pay through the 1884-85 school year. Teachers decided "to dismiss the janitor," leaving it up to each faculty member to "see that his department was in order."³³

Attempting to lighten the financial burden, A. O. Smoot asked President Taylor to pay arrears in rent for the tithing block leased by Brigham Young Academy to the Church. Describing the Academy's increasing debt and decreasing enrollment, Smoot explained that "either the school must close or an income be derived from some source other than tuition. We have deemed it, therefore, our duty under these circumstances to address you and present you with a bill for rent for the Tithing Office Block in this city from June 1st, 1877 to June 1st, 1885, being \$1200.00 per year according to the verbal contract made with your pre-decessor, President Brigham Young, making a total of \$9600.00. We have placed to your credit Sundries from Provo Tithing Office amounting to \$2606.68, leaving balance in favor of the Brigham Young Academy of \$6993.32."³⁴

President Smoot's letter had the effect of a "bombshell in the camp" in Salt Lake City.³⁵ Church officials had believed that the tithing block was actually Church property given to the school by Brigham Young only to prevent federal confiscation.³⁶ The Academy Board maintained that Brigham Young had verbally agreed that the Church would pay \$1200 a year rent for the tithing buildings. President

32. BYA Board Minutes, 28 July 1884.

33. BYA Faculty Minutes, 11 April 1884.

34. A. O. Smoot et al. to John Taylor and Counselors, 19 November 1885, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

35. BYA Board Minutes, 23 December 1879. *See also* a letter from the office of the Presiding Bishop to A. O. Smoot, 17 July 1886, Brigham Young Academy and Benjamin Cluff Correspondence, 1886-1891, BYU Library Special Collections.

36. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot et al., 14 December 1885, John Taylor

Taylor countered that the Church was neither legally bound nor financially able to pay that much. He told the school representatives that he knew nothing of Brigham Young's verbal agreement with the Academy. Furthermore, President Taylor said he "could not recognize a thing of that kind as it was not in accordance with my ideas of the way such business should be transacted; and I positively then stated to you that I could not agree, as Trustee-in-Trust, to give the amount as then spoken of for the rent of the place." He opposed paying "so large a sum for so small a return." Proposing a compromise, President Taylor offered "to pay a just equivalent for the rent of that place," which would be \$400 a year. If the compromise were unsatisfactory to the Board, he agreed to "refer the whole subject to arbitration when we have an opportunity." Meanwhile, the school was given "a credit for \$2000 which you can draw against."³⁷ The BYA Board refused President Taylor's compromise and decided to have the matter arbitrated. However, after months of disputation, the Board, deciding to preserve good relations with the First Presidency, rescinded its "acceptance of Arbitration." The Board agreed that the "matter of rent for the last nine years" should be "left entirely to the judgment of Pres. John Taylor."³⁸ Seeking an equitable solution, President Taylor "instructed Brother James Jack, the Chief Clerk of the Trustee-in-Trust, to credit the Board of Trustees with rent at the rate of \$450 per annum from June 1st, 1877 to June 30th, 1886," in addition to the \$2,000 credit already granted to the Board.³⁹

Sinking Salaries

Financial hardships continued after settlement of the tithing block dispute. Provo City, which by 1887 had a population of approximately 4,500, was sending an ever decreasing

Papers.

37. Ibid.

38. BYA Board Minutes, 26 June 1886.

39. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot, 5 July 1886, John Taylor Papers.

number of students to the Academy.⁴⁰ School officials complained that the city received almost \$40,000 per year in trade through the school, while providing only twenty-four of the school's two hundred students in the eleventh academic year.⁴¹ Many parents were satisfied with sending their children to Provo district public schools since those schools were taught by Brigham Young Academy graduates. Others, because of mandatory school taxes, felt they could not afford the extra tuition costs of sending their children to the Academy. Still others feared the school would close and the students' work would be interrupted. Finally, the years 1886 through 1888 were hard times for local residents, and many could not afford, in addition to paying tithing, to support the Stake building fund for the Provo Tabernacle, the Salt Lake Temple, and Brigham Young Academy as well.

In April 1886 Karl Maeser wrote President John Taylor that if financial assistance could not be obtained "the institution would have to close at the end of the present term":

As all the teachers have been forced to incur debts, and the financial condition of the Academy gives them no hope of meeting their obligations, nor to support their families until the commencement of the new academic year in August, and there being even then no prospect of better times, they all will be under the necessity of seeking positions elsewhere immediately after the close of the present term, May 21, with the exception of Bros. James E. Talmage and Benjamin Cluff, both having resigned already for the purpose of going east to complete their studies in the higher branches of their respective sciences.⁴²

40. In 1870, when the Timpanogos Branch was founded, Provo had a population of 2384; by 1880 it had a population of 3432; by 1890 it had grown to 5154 (Work Projects Administration, *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City*, American Guide Series [Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1942], p. 104).

41. Utah Stake Historical Records, 25 October 1886 and 20 October 1886.

42. Maeser to Taylor, 14 April 1886, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

The school continued, but conditions did not improve. Maeser complained that “the teachers of this Academy have carried the whole financial load of the institution for the last two years.”⁴³ The principal himself wallowed in embarrassing personal debt.⁴⁴ John Nuttall wrote Maeser, “[I] sincerely hope that you will have such patronage as to enable you to obtain not only your present salary but the amount that is due you for past services. . . . I however appreciate your determination to stand by the ship and sincerely trust you will not be molested by the wicked and ungodly in our midst.”⁴⁵

Clearly evidencing his discouragement and exasperation over the worsening tide of events, Karl G. Maeser penned the following pathetic lines to L. John Nuttall:

The affairs of this institution are in such an unsettled condition financially and executively, that I cannot see my way clear at any point. I have submitted to the chairman of the Executive Committee, Bro. H. H. Cluff, a suggestive list of the teachers for next year, which was favorably received by him, but no action has been taken since everybody seems to be occupied with other important affairs. . . . To the many anxious inquiries of many of our students in regard to their returning to this Academy in the fall, I have invariably given the answer, that this Academy will go on, although there may be some changes in the general management and organization. This one point is certain that it cannot go on much longer in the way in which it has vegetated during the last two years, in as much as the teachers have no security that the institution may not have to stop in the middle of the school year for lack of funds. None of the present Board members [are] assuming any responsibility, nor do they seem to be willing to let the teachers run it at their own risk. I am *worn out and sick in spirit*, dear Brother, about this dragging and planless condition of things, and with all my love

43. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 22 January 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

44. Nuttall to Maeser, 17 August 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

45. Nuttall to Maeser, 6 August 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

for this Academy, I feel that I owe it to my very life, which is needlessly wearing itself out here in an apparently hopeless task, to accept any change that will promise me opportunities for permanent usefulness.⁴⁶

President Smoot and others felt that closing the Academy would be “a calamity to this Territory and especially this City,”⁴⁷ but some BYA faculty members contemplated abandoning the school for the new Salt Lake Academy, and others actually left the Academy.

Problems with the Heirs

As Maeser’s letter implied, the Academy was facing serious organizational as well as financial difficulties. The deeds of trust, which granted visitatorial and veto powers to the heirs of Brigham, were the cause of considerable difficulty to the Board of Trustees. The first significant emergence of this issue came with the Academy’s efforts to appoint three new Trustees to replace three members of the Board who had died: Martha Jane Coray, William Bringham, and Leonard Harrington. In a special circular mailed to all the heirs, the four remaining Trustees — Abraham O. Smoot, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Harvey H. Cluff, and Myron Tanner — suggested “the importance of placing the visitatorial or appointing power to fill vacancies in the board, in some local Church authorities, in order to more effectually perpetuate the BYA.”⁴⁸ After months of dispute, a majority of the heirs finally agreed and John Q. Cannon, Don Carlos Young, and James E. Talmage were nominated as new Board members. The difficulty of appointing new Board members was “very trying” to Karl Maeser, who commented that the heirs of the Brigham Young estate, by “their injudicious management of appointments,” laid “the foundation of endless and accumulative mischief for the Academy. The sooner an ar-

46. Maeser to Nuttall, 4 May 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

47. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 29 November 1886, Church Historical Department.

48. BYA Board Minutes, 16 February 1884.

rangement for the emancipation of the school in that direction is effected the brighter its prospects for the future will grow.”⁴⁹

The heirs’ power to control the management and sale of school property was even more bothersome than their power of appointment. The Board, desiring power to control the tithing block, met with the heirs. Wilson H. Dusenberry reported that Arta D. Young and Myra Young Rossiter, two of the heirs, “would not sign away their authority and control over the Block known as the Tithing Block in this City.”⁵⁰ From the beginning, it was felt that the heirs had “too much control of the property belonging to the B. Y. Academy and if the School stopped, the property would all revert back to the heirs, no matter how accumulated.”⁵¹

This unhealthy state of affairs limited private donations which were sorely needed by the school. When, for instance, in the late fall of 1886 the Utah Stake High Council dismissed the idea of establishing a “Beneficiary Fund” in which businessmen and other men of means would participate, High Councilor⁵² George M. Brown pointed out that “the school was not in the fittest condition to be the object of donations of funds of the LDS, it being to a great extent under the management of the heirs of the late President Brigham Young who are now very numerous and are constantly increasing, and some are not LDS.”⁵³ Businessmen, ward members, and other private donors were simply not converted to the wisdom of donating large sums of money to an institution which was not yet in control of its own destiny. “There is no prospect for prosperity of this institution as long as it remains under the heirs of the BY Estate,” wrote Maeser to L. John

49. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 22 January 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

50. BYA Board Minutes, 25 June 1883.

51. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 21 November 1886.

52. Editor’s Note: A high councilor is a member of what is termed “the high council” of the stake. This council consists of twelve men who serve as advisors and assistants to the stake presidency in the ecclesiastical operation of the stake.

53. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 21 November 1886.

Nuttall, then territorial superintendent of district schools. Rather than leave control of the school in the hands of Brigham Young's heirs, Maeser suggested "that it be placed entirely under the control of the Presidency of the Church, who should appoint the members of the new Board, and if these heirs are willing to do some thing for the perpetuation of the Academy they may let those properties go along with the new organization. Then private persons will cheerfully donate; stakes and other corporations may make endowments for young people of their own."⁵⁴

In line with Maeser's suggestion, Abraham O. Smoot proposed to the First Presidency that a "Church Educational Society" be formed and that "all the property now held by the present Trustees" be transferred to the society by the heirs of Brigham Young.⁵⁵ John Taylor agreed that "if the heirs have no objection, it would appear that such a change as you mention would be desirable and attended with good efforts."⁵⁶ As a result, a committee consisting of A. O. Smoot, H. H. Cluff, and architect D. C. Young was appointed in January 1887 to "consider the possibility and advisability of organizing the Academy as a corporation." Smoot hoped that this measure would help the school "steer through the breakers during these times of depression."⁵⁷ Actually, the issue of control of the property was not resolved until 1890.

Utah Stake Throws Out the Lifeline

During the depressing summer of 1886 it seemed that Brigham Young Academy would follow in the wake of the Timpanogos Branch and go under because of financial distress. Maeser lamented

54. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 17 June 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

55. A. O. Smoot, H. H. Cluff, and David John to John Taylor, 1 December 1886, Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, Huntington Library Mormon Collection, San Marino, California.

56. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot, D. John, and H. H. Cluff, 17 December 1886, John Taylor Papers.

57. BYA Board Minutes, 19 January 1887.

the deplorable financial condition of the Academy, which places the whole burden to carry the institution upon the shoulders of the teachers, some of whom, like myself, have already lost more than one half of their last year's salary, and cannot afford another sacrifice of that kind. . . . I have made our last desperate effort to save the Academy from breaking up next Christmas. I have requested Bro. John Q. Cannon, now a member of the Board, to open a subscription for the purpose of raising \$1000.00 for the payment of rent, fuel, light and incidentals, that all the tuition can be used for the payment of teachers' salaries, Bro. J. Q. Cannon has promised to conduct this matter. If this move succeeds, and we get a full house of students, the Academy can go on; otherwise, the teachers must seek other positions to save their good name and reputation among the tradespeople.⁵⁸

Yet Maeser promised that "we shall endeavor to struggle on to save, with the help of God, the Academy from dissolution."⁵⁹

In an effort to resolve the salary problem, the Board decided to let "all tuition fees received . . . be paid pro rata to the teachers."⁶⁰ The plan was more of a hope than a solution; the school needed more income, not a new procedure for paying faculty members.

Recognizing the seriousness of the situation, Utah Stake leaders fought to save the school. President David John exclaimed that it was just as important for the stake to sustain the school as it was to help finance the Salt Lake Temple.⁶¹ A stake delegation, chaired by George M. Brown, met with the Board of Trustees and concluded that "as Provo received the greatest benefit from the BYA, the businessmen and prominent citizens of Provo [should] be invited at some future date, to meet with the High Council to consider the propriety of

58. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 21 August 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

59. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, 24 August 1886, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

60. Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, October 1886, 1: 235.

61. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 25 October 1886.

donating . . . their means to sustain the Brigham Young Academy.”⁶²

The very next day, 21 November 1886, Brown proposed the establishment of “a Beneficiary Fund based upon the principle of donations with the right in the donors to nominate pupils to attend” the Academy.⁶³ A week later about a hundred leading Provo businessmen met and pledged \$1117.50 to the Beneficiary Fund.⁶⁴

Appealing to general citizens as well as businessmen, the Beneficiary Fund collected several thousand dollars during its years of operation, much of which was personally contributed by President Abraham O. Smoot.⁶⁵ Besides this much-needed support from members of the Utah Stake, the school, through President John Taylor, succeeded in getting ZCMI to forgive half of the rent due on their warehouse through 31 July 1888.

Brigham Young Academy and “The Raid”

Enforcement of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which outlawed plural marriage, resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of many Church leaders. Known as “the raid,” this policy of arrest and enforcement affected Brigham Young Academy and Utah Stake. President Smoot’s counselors David John and Harvey H. Cluff each served six-month prison terms for unlawful cohabitation.⁶⁶ Even Karl G. Maeser was the subject of prosecution. In May 1887 he wrote John Nuttall that he had been “placed under bonds to appear before the Grand Jury next September term, which does not worry me, however, very much, as the Lord will direct these affairs.”⁶⁷ He

62. Ibid., 21 November 1886.

63. Ibid. President David John heard of the beneficiary fund idea from the University of Michigan. He “felt that the BY Academy should be patronized and sustained by the Latter-day Saints in the same manner” (Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 7 January 1888).

64. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 29 November 1886.

65. Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, 3, 4 January 1888, 1: 294.

66. See Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography for April through October 1888. See also the journal of David John for March through August 1887, BYU Library Special Collections.

67. Maeser to Nuttall, 4 May 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

was to be tried before Judge Warren Dusenberry, Maeser's predecessor at the Academy who had recommended Maeser to be his successor. On 17 March 1888 Maeser pleaded guilty before Judge Dusenberry, forthrightly stating that in 1875 he had taken a plural wife.⁶⁸ According to President George Albert Smith, George Sutherland, together with other prominent citizens, interceded in Maeser's behalf, pleading that a prison sentence would cause Maeser to "die of humiliation."⁶⁹ Following the advice of the petitioners, Judge Dusenberry did not sentence Maeser to prison but instead imposed the maximum fine of \$300. The day after Maeser's sentencing faculty and students presented him with "receipts of separate subscription lists to pay the fine." He "feelingly thanked the students assembled in Devotional exercises" and wrote the faculty that their "expression of sympathy during the recent ordeal I have been called to pass through, and substantial assistance rendered, have strengthened between us the ties of affection which death alone can sever."⁷⁰

As polygamists hid from U.S. Marshals during "the raid," communications between the school and Church leaders became difficult. Nevertheless, Brigham Young Academy somewhat benefited from the situation. To escape escheatment, the Trustee-in-Trust of the Church turned property and funds over to the various stakes for their use. Although the President of the Church retained the loyalty of the stakes, stake leaders had great leeway in using these funds. President Abraham O. Smoot urged that the Academy block with its half-finished construction be "conveyed to the Stake Association." He also suggested that the stake then "ask the heirs of President Young to come in and join the interests of the Brigham Young Academy to the Stake, believing it much

68. Editor's Note: Maeser, like many Church leaders, practiced plural marriage because of deep religious conviction. He had reluctantly married his second wife at the request of Church authorities. (*See* Eva Maeser Crandall interview).

69. Address of George Albert Smith to the students of Brigham Young University, 22 October 1946.

70. BYA Faculty Minutes, 18 March 1888.

better and more consistent with Church government and policy than to organize a special Educational Society. We believe to . . . have the block placed in the Church Association would be sanctioned by the entire Stake and be the means of encouraging the people of the Stake to go on with the work of further erecting the fine structure so substantially commenced.”⁷¹

Learning that President John Taylor did not want the Utah Stake to use its newly acquired funds to complete the Academy Building and the Provo Tabernacle, the Utah Stake Presidency reminded President Taylor of the “lively interest” that “was manifested for the Academy immediately after the fire, throughout the Territory,” more especially from stakes which had learned of the beneficial prospects of building a new Academy. President Taylor himself had chosen the new site of the school, forcing the stake to go into debt to pay for the property. As outside interest in the new building had waned, Utah Stake was forced to stop construction on the building. The stake presidency proposed to President Taylor that the new funds should be used to complete construction of the Academy Building.⁷² President John Taylor apparently accepted the proposal of the stake presidency, and Utah Stake became a partner with Brigham Young Academy in the completion of the Academy Building.⁷³

Threat of a Salt Lake-Centered Church School System

Though federal opposition to the Latter-day kingdom worked to the indirect advantage of Brigham Young

71. Abraham O. Smoot to William B. Preston, 18 April 1887, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

72. A. O. Smoot and H. H. Cluff to John Taylor, 2 May 1887, Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, 1: 279-80.

73. This manner of stake expenditure of Church funds was not unusual. Between 1884 and 1887 many wards and stakes were given title to local meetinghouses, tithing houses, granaries, and to capital stock in community stock herds, general stores, irrigation projects, and to other local enterprise in which the local or general Church had financial interest (Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958], p. 363).

Academy by strengthening the financial status of Utah Stake, the Academy continued to have difficulties that threatened its existence. Fearful of the influence that Protestant and sectarian schools might have upon Mormon youth, Church leaders began to organize a system of stake academies patterned after Brigham Young Academy, hoping to insure Mormon-oriented instruction for young Latter-day Saints. Brigham Young Academy Trustees feared that establishment of the new schools would lead to intra-Church competition for students. Maeser, on the other hand, supported the new school system. Indeed, he desired to see the pattern of education which he perfected at BYA employed throughout the Church.⁷⁴ As early as 1886 he took steps to organize Church schools in Springville and Fillmore.⁷⁵

Maeser's enthusiastic support of this enlarged school system, which enticed his attention away from Provo, did not receive the whole-hearted approval of the Board of Trustees. Their vision was restricted to Provo. When President Smoot learned that Maeser supported the Salt Lake Academy, he informed Principal Maeser that he would give him no further permission to go to Salt Lake City during school time, asking him to declare "at once to which of the two institutions [he] intended to belong in the future."⁷⁶ Maeser denied that his interests in the school system acted in any way to the detriment of the Academy, but the removal of some of the strongest BYA faculty to the Salt Lake school proved otherwise. For example, Willard Done was transferred to Salt Lake City in 1887. The Trustees viewed such losses with justifiable alarm. They were unwilling to see the best interests of the local school sacrificed for a new program. The hardest blow came, however, when Maeser was appointed general superintendent of Church schools in 1888.⁷⁷

74. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 22 January 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

75. Maeser to Nuttall, 20 November 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

76. Maeser to Nuttall, 22 February 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers.

77. Minutes of the General Church Board of Education, 9 July 1888, Church Historical Department (hereafter cited as General Board Minutes).

Busy with the tasks of the superintendency, Maeser was unable to give necessary attention to the Academy. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was appointed to act as assistant principal in his absence. With Cluff's nomination, interest factions began to develop in the school. The Board, which sided with Cluff, was zealous to see the Academy the leader of the new system. Maeser, on the other hand, while hoping that BYA's educational program would supply much-needed teachers to the stake academies, affirmed that the Church school system would "go far beyond what the BY Academy is or ever can be."⁷⁸ Smoot, the other Trustees, and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., vigorously protested against the threatened "sidetracking" of the Academy. Maeser answered that the creation of a Church university in Salt Lake City would not affect the future growth of the Academy. He said that Brigham Young Academy had weathered some terrible storms and that "she would continue to hold her own as long as her board and Faculty would keep in line with the Spirit of the Gospel."⁷⁹ But the Trustees were not persuaded. They realized that a good faculty was the foundation of a good school, and they were not about to see the best interests of the Academy sacrificed for the interests of an educational system of which it might be only a small part.

In spite of the fears of Smoot and others, the Academy continued to be recognized by many as the leading Church school. The school's Normal Department was "like a great reservoir." As teachers were called forth, "many more have poured into" the school.⁸⁰ Students graduating from the teacher-training program, though perhaps under twenty years of age, obtained principalships and teaching positions throughout the territory. The programs and curricula of other Church schools followed the pattern of Brigham Young Academy from the Primary Department to the Polysophical Society.⁸¹

78. Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, 8 September 1888, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

79. Maeser to Woodruff, 21 March 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

80. Harvey H. Cluff Scrapbook, 1885, a collection of undated newspaper articles, Church Historical Department.

81. Journal of Joseph Jabbe Anderson, 11 March 1889 and 30 October

By 1889 Church officials saw the need to train more teachers for the Church Educational System. Maeser suggested that Brigham Young Academy should become the Church Normal Training School.⁸² By December 1889 the General Church Board of Education “recognized the Brigham Young Academy as the Latter-day Saints’ Normal College, not only on account of the large number of students attending its normal department, but also because by far the greatest majority of all its Church school principals and teachers” were graduates of the Academy.⁸³

Assistant Principal Benjamin Cluff, Jr., made a large contribution to this expanding program. In June 1891 he wrote Karl Maeser, urging that, in order “to meet the free tuition now offered in the Deseret University, admission to the training school should be free to all who would bind themselves to teach in the Church schools.”⁸⁴ Maeser accepted the idea and proposed it to the General Board. By November 1891 George Reynolds was able to report to A. O. Smoot that “the establishment of a free normal training school in connection with the Church School system had the hearty approval” of the First Presidency, and they knew of “no better place, at present, to carry this project into successful operation, than at the BY Academy of Provo.”⁸⁵

In addition to a special allotment of \$800 made to the Utah Stake Board of Education in September 1891 to assist in the operation of the Academy,⁸⁶ the General Church Board appropriated \$5,000 “to aid in meeting the expenses of this Normal College during the Academic year, 1892-3.”⁸⁷ Brigham Young Academy continued to gain prestige, financial support, and increased enrollment through its position as the Church Normal School.

1888, original in possession of Dr. Kenneth Davies, Provo, Utah; copy in BYU Archives.

82. General Board Minutes, 2 May 1889.

83. BYA Faculty Minutes, 23 December 1889.

84. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Karl G. Maeser, 4 June 1891, Church Schools Uncataloged Letters, 1891-93, Church Historical Department.

85. Reynolds to Smoot, 11 November 1891, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

86. General Board Minutes, 4 September 1891.

87. *Ibid.*, 30 December 1891.

The Threat of a Methodist University

With concern over what they considered the encroachment of other Latter-day Saint schools still simmering in their minds, the Academy Trustees became even more disturbed when the Methodist Church disclosed plans to build a "Methodist University in Provo" at a cost of from three hundred thousand to a million dollars.⁸⁸ To finance construction, funds were to be drawn from eastern sources as well as from the local community. Certain businessmen and some prominent local educators supported the idea, believing the school would improve the economy of Provo. Surprisingly enough, Warren Dusenberry and two of Abraham O. Smoot's sons began to support the plans for the Methodist school. This brought forth an indignant condemnation from H. H. Cluff, counselor to President Smoot, who by that time had become the most forthright public supporter of Brigham Young Academy. In a letter to the editor of *Utah Enquirer*, Cluff said that

the intimation that the University will socially and religiously be of incalculable benefit to Provo has no foundation in fact. The great ultimatum of all the arguments is that a few hundred thousand dollars will be induced into the Territory of Utah, particularly in Provo, if the University is erected here. What profit will accrue to the Latter-day Saint who gives his \$500.00 as an inducement to get it here? His reward will be his loss.⁸⁹

Cluff was surprised that Mormons could "so warp" their minds "as to give material aid in promoting a system or order" whose "fixed purpose is to obliterate the Church of Christ from the earth." He was aware

that our Methodist neighbors will construe our objections to giving material aid to the projected University as an effort to curtail religious privileges. We hold that they have the same right to erect a University or Church in

88. Harvey H. Cluff, Letter to the Editor of the *Utah Enquirer*, 9 February 1889, found in the Harvey H. Cluff Scrapbook.

89. Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, 1 February 1889.

Provo to worship as they choose, as we have. No obstructions will be offered on the part of the Latter-day Saints. What we do wish inferred is that consistency should mark the lives of all Latter-day Saints, and it certainly is not consistent to build up an avowed enemy at the expense of our own interests.⁹⁰

The issue became even more heated when it was reported that the Methodists were receiving token assistance to purchase from the Breherton family land they called the temple block.⁹¹ To keep the Methodists from obtaining the property, Abraham O. Smoot promised that “he would not cease his exertions until a deed” to the land was obtained.⁹²

Fear that the Methodists were going to build a university in Provo died down as quickly as it had flared up, and Brigham Young Academy Trustees soon turned their attention to more realistic problems.

Freedom from the Heirs

On 11 November 1890 Brigham Young Academy won its independence from the heirs of Brigham Young. Through the efforts of Smoot and others, the heirs consented to give the Board of Trustees full visitatorial and appointive powers.⁹³ Though two of the heirs held out, a new Deed was made which transferred the power of the heirs to the Trustees and their successors.⁹⁴ This Deed provided for the sale of “the premises and property” outlined in the 1875 and 1877 Deeds to the Trustees “for the use and benefit of the children of the members in good standing of The Church of Jesus Christ of

90. Ibid., 12 February 1889.

91. Editor’s note: According to Provo legend, Brigham Young once prophesied that a temple would be built in Provo. The precise location of the temple block has been endlessly debated. The Breherton family of northeast Provo claimed that their property was the temple block, but many others made the same claim for their own properties.

92. Journal of L. John Nuttall, 21 February 1889.

93. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to A. O. Smoot, 7 December 1889, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

94. Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, 6 November 1890, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

Latter-day Saints.” The Trustees were given power to make the bylaws of the school, to “build, buy or otherwise acquire” suitable accommodations for the school, to fill vacancies in the Board “by majority vote,” and to “create and organize a corporation under the laws.” The name of the school was never to be changed, and there should always be at least three heirs of Brigham Young on the Board. If any “trustee should rebel against the Church,” a two-thirds majority of the Board could remove the wayward Board member from his position.⁹⁵

With power to buy, sell, and trade property, the new Board quickly acted to dispose of unneeded real estate. At the first meeting of the newly organized Board, held 11 November 1890, “the surplus lands of the institution” were “placed upon the market for sale.”⁹⁶

Completing the Academy Building

Relieved of the burden of Brigham Young’s heirs, the Board of Trustees moved ahead with plans to complete the Academy Building. During a meeting held a week before Christmas in 1890, the Board resolved to “make every possible arrangement to commence work on the new academy building early in the spring of 1891.” To help finance construction, the Board authorized the sale of “building lots on Blocks 28 Plat B and 69 Plat A at the best possible terms and prices.”⁹⁷ Don Carlos Young resumed his labors as architect, following the “specifications and ideas” of Karl G. Maeser.⁹⁸ Maeser in turn attributed the design of the building to a dream he had shortly after the death of Brigham Young:

I found myself entering a spacious hallway with open doors leading into many rooms, and saw President Brigham Young and a stranger, while ascending the

95. 1890 Deed on file in BYU Archives.

96. BYA Board Minutes, 11 November 1890. *See also* Board Minutes for 19 November 1890.

97. BYA Board Minutes, 18 December 1890.

98. Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, 30 August 1888, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

stairs, beckoning me to follow them. Thus they led me into the upper story containing similar rooms and a large assembly hall, where I lost sight of my guides, and awoke. Deeply impressed with this dream, I drew up the plan of the location shown to me and stowed it away without any apparent purpose for its keeping nor any definite interpretation of its meaning, and it lay there almost forgotten for more than six years, when in January, 1884, the old Academy building was destroyed by fire. The want of new localities caused by that calamity brought into remembrance that paper, which on being submitted suggestively to the board, was at once approved of, and our architect, a son of President Young, instructed to put into proper architectonic shape. Another period of eight years, however, had to pass, and the same month of January, consecrated in our hearts by the memory of that conflagration, had to come around eight times again, ere we were privileged to witness the materialization of that dream, the fulfillment of that prophecy. When in future days people will ask for the name of the wise designer of the interior of this edifice, let the answer be: Brigham Young.⁹⁹

Completing financial arrangements for the construction, the Board resolved that President Smoot and the executive committee (Smoot, Hyrum S. Young, and H. H. Cluff) should “negotiate a loan of \$50,000 on the best terms obtainable for the construction of the Academy Building.”¹⁰⁰ Once the loan was obtained, the Board took bids ranging from \$49,405 to \$87,763. All four bids were rejected; the Board felt that the actual construction could be done for much less “under the immediate observation and direction of the Supt. of construction.”¹⁰¹

With building costs higher than anticipated, loans were

99. Maeser's Farewell Address at the dedicatory exercises of the new Academy Building, 4 January 1892, UA 104, folder B1, item 3, BYU Archives. Maeser complimented Don Carlos Young for the quality of his architectural work (*see* Karl G. Maeser Papers, 30 August 1888).

100. BYA Board Minutes, 25 March 1891.

101. *Ibid.*, 17 April 1891.

negotiated from banks and individuals.¹⁰² In June 1891 the Board decided to mortgage the east half of the tithing block and some other property to allow for additional loans.¹⁰³ In August H. H. Cluff “succeeded in effecting a loan of \$25,000 from Bacon Bankers for the Academy.”¹⁰⁴ By the time the Academy Building was completed, loans, some of which had been underwritten by President Smoot and other Trustees, including David John, Wilson Dusenberry, and H. H. Cluff, totaled about \$100,000.¹⁰⁵ By 9 January 1892 the executive committee of the Board of Trustees had increased their personal notes to \$56,500.¹⁰⁶ David John recounted the difficulties of financing construction of the Academy Building:

It is true that the late President B. Young gave eight City Lots in Provo City . . . but, it is equally true that the building is now completed . . . before we have realized One dollar for the sale of those eight City Lots. I heard one of Prest. Young’s daughters saying, 3 or 4 days ago, “Father’s money has erected that Academy”: but up to the present, there is not one cent of her father’s money invested in that building, and if the Lord does not come to our rescue, Bro. Harvey H. Cluff and myself are liable to suffer when the notes given will become due. I mention these two names — “to suffer,” because, first, President Smoot is a man of means and can not suffer, even if he has to pay his share of the face of the notes: and Secondly, because Bro. H. H. Cluff told me to-day, that W. H. Dusenberry could not lose anything, “for he did not have anything to lose.”¹⁰⁷

The Church also assisted in the construction of the building,

102. Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, 9 June 1891 and 16 June 1891: “In Salt Lake City trying to effect a loan for the Academy and on the second day I succeeded in getting a loan of \$1,000 from Mrs. Newman at 8 per cent and from the Deseret National Bank I got a loan of \$4,000.00. I returned home . . . satisfied with my success.”

103. BYA Board Minutes, 20 June 1891.

104. Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, 4 August 1891.

105. Journal of David John, 28 December 1891.

106. Ibid., 5-9 January 1892.

107. Ibid., 28 December 1891.

contributing \$5,000 once the property was out of the hands of the heirs.¹⁰⁸

School officials steamed ahead with construction in spite of the cost, for they knew that completion of the building meant much more than just the attainment of an adequate and handsome facility. The Academy Building was not only a physical expression of the Academy's prominence as the leading Church educational institution, but it was also a symbol of what Brigham Young Academy could become. When the building was finished, the school could boast of having the very best educational accommodations in the territory.¹⁰⁹

Harvey H. Cluff, who devoted his full energies to the construction, was largely responsible for completing the project. He wrote in his private journal that, while he had no "desire to laudate or appear extra important in this great and important enterprise," he "was the indomitable force that kept the work

108. Utah Stake Presidency to Wilford Woodruff, 29 October 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers; Utah Stake Historical Records, 3 May 1889.

109. The 4 January 1892 issue of the *Utah Enquirer* described the interior of the building, neglecting to mention that there were nine rooms in the basement:

On the first floor are the following rooms: the principal's office, the treasurer's office, laboratory, room of designs, intermediate department "A," intermediate "B," two recitation rooms, cloak rooms, etc.

On the second floor is the assembly room 82 x 55 feet, 20½ feet to the ceiling. The roof over this part is supported by 4 iron columns 24 feet long; this room is calculated to hold all the students for devotional and other exercises. Besides the assembly room, there are on this floor, the normal, collegiate, academic "A" and academic "B" departments, a music room and a ladies room. The height of rooms in both stories is 15½ feet to ceiling.

In the attic there is one large room 17 2/3 x 80 feet, 15 feet to ceiling, lighted from above; this will make a fine room for drawing and other studies requiring an extra amount of light. There is also space in the attic for several other rooms if they are needed, light being furnished through windows in the gables. . . .

There is no room in the entire building, but what receives direct sunlight sometime during the day. . . . The building is lighted with electricity, and heated with hot air, the indirect system of radiation being used. . . . The present capacity is intended to accommodate 500 students . . . [but] is sufficient for 1000.

Minutes of Sessions.

In pursuance to a call of the Principal the officiating teachers of the Brigham Young Academy assembled in I session of a Faculty meeting for the 111 term fourth academic year Feb. 2nd 1880. Pres. H. G. Maess occupying the chair. Opening prayer by Monitor H. H. King.

Principal then laid down general instructions for the various members: instructing the secretary as to making weekly reports and arrangement of records.

Monitors of the various departments outside the general departments in charge of department teachers were then appointed. In connection with the Domestic Department, Principal reported on the receipt of a package of passes from the Supt. of U. S. R. R. for the accommodation of members of Domestic Dept desiring to return home by car.

Adjourned until Feb. 9th

J. E. Palmer Sec. John Redd pres. ⁹³Benedic. by D. Harrington

from collapsing.” This apparently was true. Fearing the school would be forced to move to Salt Lake City if the Academy Building were not soon completed, Cluff did not want to see the Academy lose the “grip on the educational precedent which we now possess.”¹¹⁰

With the completion of the building in the fall of 1891, the Academy passed another milestone in its development as the LDS Church university. The Academy Building represented far more than a needed educational facility. It symbolized the working power of the Utah Stake and the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees during an era of self-determination. Now possessing the best educational facility in the territory, the school could press for greater support from the Church.

The Academy had not flourished, but it had survived, “proving its seaworthiness through the storms and breakers of adversity.”¹¹¹

110. Harvey H. Cluff Autobiography, 1-3 July 1891.

111. BYA Faculty Minutes, 25 January 1889.

7

Laying the Spiritual Foundation

Brigham Young Academy encountered various administrative difficulties during Maeser's principalship, but he saw that the academic programs of the school were carried on with great enthusiasm. These programs were based on Brigham Young's conviction that Church teachings and the daily practice of the principles of Christian morality should stand as the cornerstone of the school's educational philosophy — that students should become better Christians as well as better scholars. Basing his curriculum on Brigham Young's idea of a useful and religious education, Maeser established academic programs that remained basically the same throughout his administration. He founded his regulatory program on the system used in the state schools of Prussia and on the Academy's distinctive Theological Department.

Maeser maintained strict control in the classroom. His knowledge of modern and ancient languages, his travels and studies in Europe, and his accomplishments in the arts made him the central figure in the operation of the school. Besides his other qualifications, Maeser had an adequate knowledge of science. He provided his students with a remarkably thorough education, having available only the scantiest of resources. Maeser's students rallied around him, creating a

dynamic school spirit that became a trademark of the Academy and a tremendous influence on the lives of its students.

The Educational Philosophy of Brigham Young Academy

The Academy's Deed of Trust stated Brigham Young's concept of the school as a religious institution and as a minister of practical training. This concept was paralleled in the thoughts of other Church leaders. David John, first counselor to President A. O. Smoot for eighteen years and later president of Utah Stake, "viewed the B. Y. Academy as a branch of the Church in rearing and training the youth of Zion in the principles of purity and morality and chastity and in educating them in the principles of the Gospel."¹ James E. Talmage said that "all our studies are conducted according to the spirit of the living God. . . . We can well afford to lose any number of students who would not conform to our rules, but we cannot afford to lose that spirit."² George Q. Cannon, member of the First Presidency, commented on the necessity of a practical education: "One of the great complaints which is now made against the present system of education is that when young people have acquired their education at the school, instead of being in a condition to sustain themselves, they are then, in many instances, most helpless and have to depend upon their parents or others to help them to live."³

Following Brigham Young's vision of practical education, the Academy operated a ladies' work department from 1881 to 1883. Similar to but more intensive than a modern work meeting of the LDS Relief Society, the department stressed sewing, embroidering, and other domestic handicrafts which were displayed at graduation.⁴ A similar department, in-

1. Utah Stake Historical Records, 1-2 March 1884.

2. Brigham Young Academy Theological Meeting Minutes, 13 October 1879, UA 238, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as BYA Theological Minutes).

3. George Q. Cannon, "Editorial Thoughts," *Juvenile Instructor* 17 (August 1882): 232.

4. The following program for the ladies' work department was outlined

tended to emphasize mechanics, was considered for male students. However, despite Brigham Young's stipulations, the mechanics program was not organized during Maeser's administration.⁵

Practical courses in engineering, technical drawing, and bookkeeping were introduced during the 1880s, but there apparently was not enough money or space to accommodate the full program envisioned by Brigham Young. Maeser, not technically inclined or mechanically gifted, may have shunned these programs.⁶ It was many years before preprofessional courses in dentistry and medicine were offered, and professional courses in nursing and law were even slower in developing. It was not until the Wilkinson Administration that a separate College of Industrial and Technical Education was founded.

Maeser's talent lay in liberal education, especially the classics. Even though very little vocational education was taught at the Academy in the early years, Maeser, nevertheless, instructed students in the fundamentals of self-mastery, self-reliance, and independence. Indeed, practicality characterized Maeser's administration. Accustomed to inadequate facilities, scanty funds, and unprepared students, he was always able to improvise to meet the needs of the school. To Karl G. Maeser, Brigham Young Academy was no ordinary school. He was convinced that "this was God's institution and He would not suffer it to go very far off the track."⁷ This sense

in the 1880-81 *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*: I Term — plain sewing, cutting, and making articles of wearing apparel; II Term — fancy needlework, embroidery, canvaswork; III Term — flowers, wood tarlatan, raised flowers on velvet; IV Term — optional (p. 74).

5. A polytechnical department was actually scheduled for the first term of the first academic year (1876-77), but it never materialized (*Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1 July 1876).
6. Evening classes featuring mechanical instruction were initiated in the 1877-78 school year and were again provided in 1883-84. However, technical courses were never made a part of the regular Academy curriculum during early years (see "Principal's Report" for 1876-77 and 1883-84).
7. Brigham Young Academy Priesthood Meeting Minutes, 21 December 1880, UA 70, BYU Archives.

of mission enabled Maeser to overcome all difficulties and to establish a sound academic foundation for the school.

The Primary Department

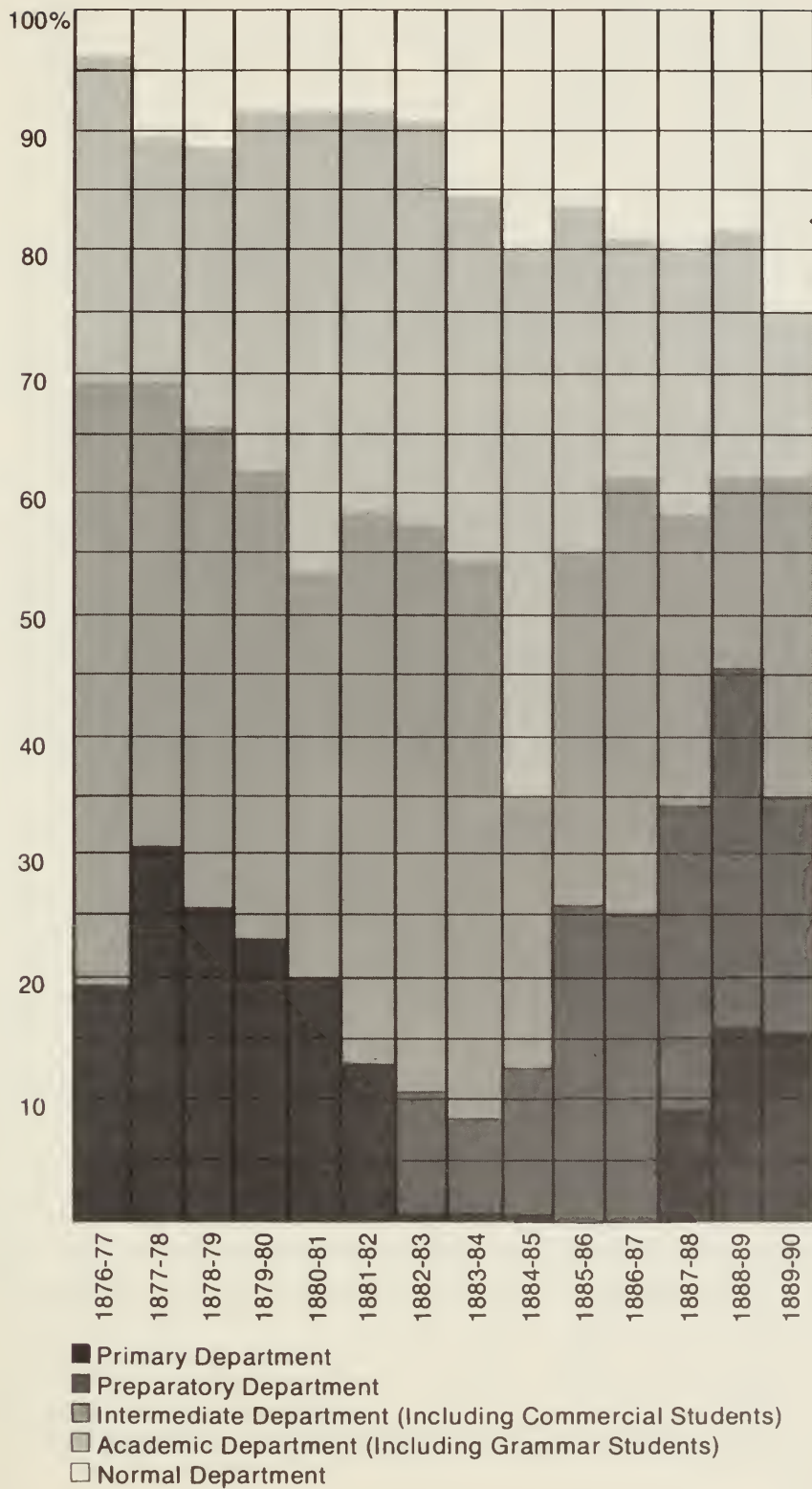
During the Maeser years, Brigham Young Academy did not fit the general definition of an academy as a school above the elementary level in which a special art or technical skill is taught. Originally an elementary school, BYA never specialized in a particular academic field, though it did emphasize teacher training.

Students during the Maeser period were placed into graded departments according to their level of training. The lower divisions encompassed the Primary Department, the Preparatory Department, the Intermediate Department, and later the Kindergarten Department. The upper division included the Academic and the Normal departments. The accompanying chart shows the relative size of these departments during the Academy's first fifteen years. From the outset, Maeser had hoped for an advanced school, but he did not find many students ready for the upper divisions. Furthermore, primary students were accepted in order to meet operating costs and to satisfy the demand of Provo residents. The Primary Department was designed for students from six to eight years old and for students who had never before attended school. Most primary students were from Provo. Over the 1876 to 1892 period, the Primary and Preparatory departments accounted for almost twenty percent of total BYA enrollment.⁸

In 1882 school officials eliminated the primary grades, hoping that a growing number of advanced students would offset the loss of enrollment. But, by 1886 several factors demanded the renewal of the Primary Department. Overall attendance at the school decreased after the fire, reaching

8. Isaiah M. Coombs (1884), Willard Done (1884 to 1886), A. L. Booth (1888 to 1889), Emil Isgreen (1889 to 1890), and Hyrum A. Anderson (1890 to 1891) served as heads of the Preparatory Department. From 1886 to 1888 the department was conducted by normal students.

Brigham Young Academy Enrollment by Department, 1876-90



critical stages during the 1886-88 depression. To increase tuition funds and to fill up the half-empty halls of the ZCMI warehouse, the Academy again advertised for primary students. The department's popularity among local citizens brought immediate support.⁹ The school's education program also helped perpetuate the Primary Department. Second-year (senior) normals, who were required to have classroom experience, found it increasingly convenient to student teach youngsters who were attending the Academy rather than to go outside the school. Employing normals to teach also represented a financial savings for the school. The kindergarten, planned as early as 1882, was not established until the 1890-91 academic year. Like the Primary Department, the kindergarten was mainly designed to give normals practical teaching experience.

Miss Teenie Smoot, assisted by monitors from the Normal Department, was in charge of the Primary Department for the first three years.¹⁰ At the commencement of the fourth academic year (1879-80), Miss Smoot was replaced by Zina Williams (later Zina Williams Card). After Miss Williams left, Caddie Daniels headed the department during its final year of operation.

As early as the first experimental term, Maeser divided the primary classes into small groups which he identified as "A" and "B." The "A" sections were a notch higher in standing than those graded "B." The primer and first readers were taught in "Primary B," and "Primary A" consisted of the

9. "Brigham Young Academy Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 24 May 1887.

10. Miss Smoot said that her calculations were to enter the academy as a student, but I was persuaded by Professor Maeser and others to assume the role of instructor to the Primary children then numbering sixteen. I agreed to the proposition providing I should be allowed to devote three half-hours each day to the study of certain branches for my own advancement. That request being readily granted, I was accordingly installed as the Primary Teacher on that memorable day, August 21, 1876. (Teenie Smoot Taylor, "Reminiscences of My Labors at the B. Y. Academy," *Young Woman's Journal*, 3 [May 1892])

second readers and oral arithmetic, tracing, and map drawing. Primary classes stressed recitation; the entire class, a section of the class, or a designated student recited the various passages being studied.¹¹ Teachers and their assistants stood ready to offer assistance when needed. Often a recitation would occupy the whole thirty-minute class period. Strict attendance records were kept and all incidents of tardiness were recorded. Excuse slips were demanded from every absentee.¹² Primary teachers met with the rest of the faculty once a week in a faculty report meeting to discuss their problems, make recommendations, and report on the progress of their students.¹³

Shortly after the discontinuance of the Primary Department in 1882, the Preparatory Department was organized, replacing the primary and aiding the Intermediate Department. The Preparatory Department, beginning with fourth graders or fourth readers, continued from 1884 through the balance of Maeser's administration. By 1888 the district schools filled the need of the primary, and "the plan of studies in this [preparatory] department, corresponding to the advanced grade in our district schools constitutes . . . an appropriate beginning for young people to enter this Academy."¹⁴

The Intermediate Department

The Intermediate Department generally consisted of students from eight to eleven years of age. It included, however, older students just emerging from the Primary Department. By the time a youngster completed the intermediate course (equivalent to fourth or fifth grade), he had adequately mastered the basic fundamentals of a common English education, and his schooling was sufficient to meet the standards of the day. He could read acceptably, write well enough to express himself, and solve basic arithmetic problems. For many stu-

11. BYA Faculty Minutes, 7 September 1876.

12. Ibid, 2 March 1877.

13. Faculty Records of Brigham Young Academy, 6 December 1878, BYU Archives.

14. "B. Y. Academy Principal's Report," *Utah Enquirer*, 29 May 1888.

dents, completion of the intermediate course was sufficient, and they returned home to assist on the farm, fully satisfied with their education. On the other hand, students of academic ability who showed interest in continuing their schooling were encouraged to pursue their course work and to move from the intermediate into the higher division. Unfortunately, many capable students could not afford to continue.

The Intermediate Department allowed students to take classes from various teachers. This variety of teachers within the Intermediate Department offered Academy students an opportunity to specialize, which was impossible in district schools:

Although professing to keep within the scope of the higher grade of the District schools, BYA presents, nevertheless, besides its religious training, features which the common schools do not enjoy, as for instance, the number of teachers, each one making his branch a specialty; the comparatively small classes enabling the teacher to watch much closer the development of the individual pupil; the half-hour changes of recitation preventing a weariness coming over the mind of the scholar, and the companionship of more select associations, all moving under the restraining influence of students of greater moral and intellectual advancement.¹⁵

Milton H. Hardy, a very competent and steady teacher, was assigned by Principal Maeser to organize and direct the Intermediate Department. He served in this capacity until he resigned on 7 July 1883.¹⁶ Employed as a full-time teacher and serving in high ecclesiastical positions, he also acted as superintendent of Utah County schools, replacing Wilson Dusenberry in July 1879.

During his tenure as department head, Hardy enlisted the support of many capable assistants. After serving one and one-half years in the Primary Department, Teenie Smoot was

15. "The B. Y. Academy: A Noble Institution," *Utah Enquirer*, 3 January 1888.

16. BYA Board Minutes, 7 July 1883.

“promoted . . . to take charge of what was then known as Intermediate B.”¹⁷ Miss Smoot was replaced by Mary J. John, who in turn was replaced by Miss Annie Larsen in June 1882. Besides Hardy, Smoot, John, and Larsen, a host of normal students acted as assistants. At the time of Miss Larsen’s appointment, Maeser wrote in the *Territorial Enquirer* of some of the difficulties she faced in the Intermediate Department:

This section, in charge of Miss Annie Larsen, has been laboring as usual under the disadvantage of very diversified and unequal degrees of preparation on the part of new students, so that we were under the necessity of organizing several auxiliary or preparatory classes, in order to create suitable levels for newcomers. It is a pleasure, however, for me to state that by the untiring zeal of Miss Larsen especially these auxiliary classes will be able to go along with the regular grades next term.¹⁸

Maintaining the students at relatively uniform levels of development was as difficult in the Intermediate Department as in the Primary. However, because of the intense remedial work of the first two departments, students in the higher grades were much more uniform in their preparation.

The Higher Divisions

The higher grades of the Academy were divided into the Academic Department and the Normal School.¹⁹ The academic student had a wide choice of subjects and usually specialized in a certain field, while the normal student was trained in teaching techniques.

John E. Booth, assisted by Myron Tanner and James E.

17. Teenie Smoot Taylor, “Reminiscences,” p. 342.

18. “The Brigham Young Academy: Report of the Principal,” *Territorial Enquirer*, 25 January 1882.

19. A Grammar Department existed as an appendage to the Academic Department from 1876 to 1878, when it was absorbed into the Academic Department. During the 1884-85 school year a collegiate grade was set up to specialize in “higher math, language, and science.” The collegiate grade lasted only one year during Maeser’s administration (*Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 11 July 1884).

Talmage, was responsible for the work of the Academic Department. The department was also closely supervised by the principal. Studies of German, French, Spanish, Latin, and Greek were conducted in the Academic Department under the auspices of Principal Maeser, who retained an active interest in linguistics and the classics. He also taught drawing and philosophy.

Mathematics received early emphasis under John E. Booth, who, despite his lack of formal training, was a capable mathematician. Algebra, trigonometry, higher arithmetic, and geometry were offered. Booth was apparently successful with his bookkeeping students as well. At a faculty meeting held in 1877, he reported that his classes were “progressing nicely with the exception of too much keenness in the bookkeeping class to make money.”²⁰ After the school’s transfer to the ZCMI warehouse, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., took over the mathematics program. Under his direction, a mathematical club was established on 24 October 1885 “for the purpose of furthering mathematical knowledge among the students.”²¹ From 1884 to 1892 the mathematics course included some phases of bookkeeping, commercial law, and commercial arithmetic as well as surveying, triangulation, and leveling.²² Advanced work in mathematics and increased space available at new Academy facilities resulted in the establishment of the Commercial College in 1891 under Lars E. Eggertson, who was an instructor in bookkeeping, business arithmetic, and commercial law.²³

Science studies, particularly chemistry, physics, biology, physical geography, and geology, blossomed at the Academy during the mid-1880s. James E. Talmage, a conscientious student and a gifted, hard-working, versatile lecturer was largely responsible for the interest in science. Except for Maeser, Talmage taught the greatest variety of classes. His

20. BYA Faculty Minutes, 14 September 1877.

21. Records of the Polysophical Society, 24 October 1885, UA 226, BYU Archives.

22. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1885-86.

23. *The Business Journal*, 2 (28 February 1893): 2 (Brigham Young Academy publication on file in BYU Archives).

scientific experiments became the talk of Provo. His physiology classes were especially popular.²⁴ He was also an avid collector of apparatus and specimens.²⁵ During his time at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins in Baltimore, he acquired substantial scientific knowledge and “many valuable relics and appliances.”²⁶

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24. “Let There Be Light: A Visit to the Scientific Department of the B. Y. Academy,” *Territorial Enquirer*, 26 August 1887:

The course in physiology and hygiene is more enthusiastically attended by the students than any other of the scientific branches, between sixty and seventy pupils, in the middle term, attending the “study of man.” The course is made a specialty. The Academy possesses full sets of Trail’s physiological models and charts and Cutter’s plates, besides the Yaggy Anatomical manikins and plates. A large porcelain manikin of the lungs, heart, and other internal organs, and models of the eye, ear and nose are used with appropriate frequency. The department has the use of three human skeletons, besides preparations and dried specimens of different parts of the body. Skeletons of the lower animals, such as the monkey, and our ordinary domestic animals, are used for comparison.

25. *Ibid.*:

On Wednesday afternoon we spent a very agreeable time with Professor J. E. Talmage, exploring the scientific department of this institution, and were perfectly astonished at its completeness. The first place we discovered ourselves in was the mineralogy department.

Here we found a mammoth cabinet containing about 2,000 specimens of minerals, rocks and fossils of all kinds. This cabinet is the property of Professor Talmage, and has been in process of collection the last eight years. The specimens are from Canada, and nearly every state and territory in the Union, especially Utah, from which territory numerous and valuable collections have been made. When but a boy of fourteen years of age, Prof. Talmage brought some of the specimens from Europe. The cabinet is undoubtedly the choicest in the Rocky Mountain region.

26. “The B. Y. Academy: Increased Accommodation and Facilities in Its New Quarters,” *Territorial Enquirer*, 12 August 1884. Young LDS scholars like Talmage who wished to go to the East for schooling usually sought the advice and permission of the General Authorities of the Church. They were “set apart” — almost as missionaries — for their task. On 26 August 1882 L. John Nuttall wrote in his journal, “Elder James E. Talmage was set apart to go East and study the Sciences at Philadelphia.” Talmage received a doctor’s degree from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1896. He was awarded the Doctor of



James E. Talmage in his
chemistry laboratory at
Brigham Young Academy.

In 1884 Talmage set up "a tolerably convenient laboratory, with a private office and apparatus room attached . . . to meet the demands of the unusually large and increasing scientific classes."²⁷ The *Deseret News* said that Talmage's laboratory contained

a very fine pair of scales which are so delicate they can almost weigh a sigh, together with a collection of chemical appliances. . . . Shelves filled with specimens, and a large cabinet, draw the attention as you enter the room. A small wooden room is being put up just north of this laboratory, which will be the recitation room of the scientific classes, where, as the professor calmly remarked, the students can put out their eyes and blow themselves up in their chemical experiments, without any further trouble.²⁸

The young instructor conducted geological field trips throughout the Wasatch Mountains. Talmage wished to "impress upon the students the great fact that natural objects, and not books alone, are to be regarded as the great source of truth."²⁹ An article in the 27 April 1886 *Territorial Enquirer* described Talmage's well-known expeditions:

During the present Spring, the scientific classes in charge of Professor J. E. Talmage have spent most of their spare time in visiting places of importance and interest in their studies. Prominent among such undertakings was a recent visit made by the classes *en masse* to Salt Lake City; considerable time being spent in inspecting the Gas Works, Electric Light Works, Deseret Museum, ZCMI Tannery and Shoe Factory, Deseret News Paper Mills and Type Foundry, and many other such establishments. Since then visits have been made to the rapidly developing mining district of Detroit in Millard County; and to the Tintic District.

Science and Didactics degree in 1899 by the General Church Board of Education.

27. "The Academy," *The Academic Review*, 1 (October 1884): 3 (Brigham Young Academy publication on file in BYU Archives).

28. "The Brigham Young Academy," *Deseret News*, 14 August 1885.

29. "The Scientific Course," *The Academic Review* 1 (February 1885): 34.

Talmage once led a summer excursion as far as the Grand Canyon, bringing back rich geological finds. Very often the Utah Central and the Denver and Rio Grande railways granted reduced fares for these explorations.³⁰

When James E. Talmage accepted the invitation of the First Presidency to head the Salt Lake Stake Academy in 1884, Brigham Young Academy suffered a great loss. Talmage went on to become president of the University of Utah, gaining an international reputation as a scientist. He became a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles in 1911.

Besides Maeser, Talmage, and Booth, N. L. Nelson and Joseph B. Keeler taught in the Academic Department. They supervised studies of United States history, English grammar, literature, social sciences, and humanities.

The Normal Department

The teacher-training program of Brigham Young Academy was successful from the very beginning. Maeser himself took personal charge of the Normal Department. Through his leadership, the department attracted the attention of educators throughout the Mormon area, and the entire school benefited as this department improved. Though a complete normal course was not initiated until the second academic year, the need for competent student assistants encouraged early development of the department.

The normal course provided "theoretical and practical" training which extended "over a period of two academical years . . . open to students . . . sufficiently advanced to enter the grammar department."³¹ By the beginning of the 1879-80 school year the Normal Department offered preparatory, advanced, and finishing courses, the first two of which were compulsory. The following year a "Practical Course" was added to the normal program. This course initiated a regular system of in-class training in district schools and at the Academy.³² Upon graduation, normals were employed

30. "Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 11 November 1884.

31. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1878-79.

32. *Ibid.*, 1881-82.

throughout the territory as teachers and occasionally as principals.³³

There was a need for Mormon educators in Utah Territory, creating a high demand for BYA-trained teachers. Because of the teacher shortage, non-Mormon teachers were hired to teach in Mormon communities, but LDS educators were preferred. And when Church leaders advised that polygamist teachers should be replaced by monogamists, even more positions opened to BYA normals.³⁴

Karl Maeser's personal philosophy and the religious atmosphere at BYA assisted Academy graduates in obtaining teaching positions, since LDS communities expected morality to be taught concurrently with academics, even in county and district schools. O. H. Riggs, who replaced Robert L. Campbell as superintendent of territorial schools, said that

The position of a teacher is one of great importance. It is impossible to attach too much weight to high qualifications and skill in him who is to train and educate the young. To him is committed the pure and plastic mind, fresh from the bosom of eternity, with all the latent qualities that pertain to immortality. When he brings into operation all those faculties with which the mind of the child is endowed, and inspires by his enthusiasm their young hearts with a love of learning, and a reverence for the truths of science, he wakes to action the energies of a living soul, he tunes an instrument strung by the hand of the Creator, that will never cease to yield harmonious sounds. He disciplines and trains for usefulness in life those who come under his charge.³⁵

Teachers from Brigham Young Academy thus occupied a very high position in the eyes of the LDS community.

33. "Principal's Report," 3 November 1882, BYU Archives, p. 93.

34. See John Taylor Papers, 20 March 1882, collection d1346, box 7, p. 762, for a resolution by the First Presidency authorizing "placing monogamists in positions that may now be occupied by polygamists, so that we may retain the appointing power and government in our hands instead of permitting it to go into the hands of our enemies."

35. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools*, 10 January 1876, pp. 3-4. Riggs was the father of Mrs. David O. McKay.



Brigham Young Academy faculty members in 1884. Those standing (left to right) are N. L. Nelson, Zina Young Card, Isaiah M. Coombs, Nettie Southworth, and Willard Done. Those sitting (left to right) are J. M. Tanner, Karl G. Maeser, and Benjamin Cluff, Jr.



By 1885 the faculty at Brigham Young Academy included (left to right) Willard Done, James E. Talmage, Joseph Nelson, Karl G. Maeser, Jennie Tanner, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., and Joseph B. Keeler.

Another feature of the Normal Department was the monitorial system. A monitor, usually a promising normal student, was a teaching assistant who directed examinations, helped administer classroom affairs, and sometimes received full responsibility for classes.³⁶ Assistant monitors, less experienced normals, were often appointed to help student teachers.³⁷ To be appointed a monitor meant a great deal to an aspiring scholar. It not only increased his sphere of influence, his own self-respect, and his image in the eyes of his associates, but it also provided an opportunity for practical training and development.³⁸

The normal program was upgraded as the demand for better qualified teachers increased. By 1885 the complete normal course covered two academic years.³⁹ In the twelfth academic year (1887-88) a normal postgraduate class was established "to offer former graduates an opportunity of preparing for leading positions in the educational profession." Students of the postgraduate course were "required to make a specialty of the Literary, the Mathematical or the Scientific courses, and to gain thorough theoretical and practical acquaintance with all the principles of the science of didactics."⁴⁰ This large teacher-training program helped make Brigham Young Academy the foremost Church normal school, whose influence was felt throughout the territory.⁴¹

36. BYA Faculty Minutes, 18 May 1877.

37. "Principal's Report," 26 March 1877, BYU Archives, p. 57.

38. Eva Maeser Crandall interview, p. 93.

39. The first year was devoted to instructional techniques; the second to administrative methods and practical application (*Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1885-86, p. 9).

40. "B. Y. Academy: The Flattering Prospects for the Fourteenth Academic Year," *Utah Enquirer*, 19 July 1889.

41. See a newspaper clipping included in the BYA Faculty Minutes, 23 December 1889. The same clipping quotes Maeser's comparison of the Academy to a banyan tree: "Like a banyan tree that spreads its branches far and wide to take roots for themselves, the B. Y. Academy has seen of late similar institutions springing up throughout Zion, conducted by its pupils, organized after its pattern, and united with it by one spirit, having in view the same aims, and being under the same paternal care of the great authorities of the Church."

By 1890 normal class enrollment was close to one hundred per term, and all indications pointed to greater growth. The demand for BYA-trained teachers to operate Church schools and offset the influx of eastern-trained “secular” instructors was almost more than the school could handle.⁴² By the time of the opening of the Academy Building in January 1892 an official normal training school headquarters for teacher development in the Church Educational System was being established at Brigham Young Academy. In order to attract as many students as possible into Church education, tuition, save some small fees, was to be free.⁴³ In 1891, under the direction of Assistant Principal Benjamin Cluff, plans were formulated for an “Academy Summer Normal School to finish practical teachers,” giving them “an opportunity of advancement in the principles of their profession.”⁴⁴

During the last four years of Maeser’s administration, while his attention was divided between the school and the Church Board of Education, men like Hyrum Anderson, N. L. Nelson, and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., effectively ran the normal program. Still, Maeser was important to the success of the department. His name alone was a popular attraction, and his influence on the Church school system brought territory-wide prestige to Brigham Young Academy’s Normal Department.

Daily Routine

Academy students adhered to a strict daily routine. They met for extended opening exercises at 9:00 A.M. At 9:30 class recitation began. Academic students generally assembled for their classes in the academic classroom of the department. Intermediate students met in their own area, and the other departments pursued a similar pattern. But the students of any one department were not always together. Many students crossed over department boundaries to attend classes taught by other departments. Normals and monitors passed from class to class,

42. “The Fourteenth Academic Year,” *Territorial Enquirer*, 23 May 1890.

43. BYA Board Minutes, 20 October 1891.

44. “BYA Normal Summer School,” *Deseret News*, 5 June 1891.

and there was always unavoidable shuffling and disturbance between classes. Students had a half-hour lunch period (12:00-12:30), but there were no recesses. After brief closing exercises, the school day ended either at 4:00 or 5:00 P.M.

The Theological Department

One of the most distinctive features of the school was its theology program. Brigham Young had provided that “the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in the Academy.”⁴⁵ In his second Deed of 1 June 1877, he insisted that “no book shall be used” at the Academy “that misrepresents, or speaks lightly of the Divine Mission of our Savior, or of the Prophet Joseph Smith, or in any manner advances ideas antagonistic to the principles of the Gospel.”⁴⁶

The Theology Department was the embodiment of Brigham Young’s wishes for the Academy. Though it was listed in the school’s circulars with the other departments, it was not a separate, graded division. Designed to permeate every level of the Academy, theological instruction was woven directly into the curricula of the Primary, Intermediate, and Academic departments. Participation in some phase of theological study was not only encouraged but required. George Sutherland asked to be excused from taking the theological course, but after a friendly visit with Karl Maeser he voluntarily signed up for Maeser’s Book of Mormon class. By the end of the course he was the number one scholar in the class. After the first term of the 1876-77 school year, Brigham Young himself stipulated that theology class attendance would be mandatory.⁴⁷

45. 1875 Deed of Trust, BYA Board Minutes, 16 October 1875.

46. 1877 Deed of Trust, BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877.

47. “Principal’s Report,” 27 October 1876, p. 19. Though Brigham Young did not actively participate in the daily operation of the school, he did occasionally take direct personal interest in Academy affairs. George Sutherland was born at Stoney Stratford, Buckinghamshire, England, on 25 March 1862 of Scotch-Irish and English forebears. Sutherland’s father and mother were converted to Mormonism in the

In 1876 the theology class was held during the first period of the day, with all students meeting in the same assembly room. Shortly afterward, Principal Maeser divided the students into two groups, taught by himself and Milton Hardy.⁴⁸ As the years passed and enrollment climbed, the Theological Department increased its influence and activities, assuming six major functions by 1881-82:

1. Daily opening and closing exercises with song and prayer.
2. A divine service on Wednesday afternoons similar to a congregational testimony-bearing service.
3. A priesthood meeting on Tuesdays at 3:30 P.M. where instructions were given to young men and young women on the doctrine and effective use of the priesthood. (By 1889, the young ladies were separated from the young men and attended their own class.) The Priesthood was divided into three quorums or groups —Aaronic, Melchizedek, and Endowment.⁴⁹

year of his birth. They emigrated to America in 1863 and settled in Springville, Utah. Young George began his life in a fully active Mormon family, which undoubtedly influenced his early thinking and habits. His father, who had read law and was admitted to practice as a lawyer, paid substantial tithing to the Church as late as 1869, but some time after that the Sutherland family apparently became inactive. There is no record of George ever having been baptized in the Mormon Church. According to Justice Harold M. Stephens, Sutherland was baptized an Episcopalian but was “strictly sectarian in outlook” (*Commemorative Proceedings before the United States Supreme Court*, 1944). He married Rosamond Lee of Beaver, Utah. Mrs. Sutherland was a member of the LDS Church. In an address to the BYU graduating class of 1941, Sutherland recalled that he “came to the old Academy with religious opinions frankly at variance” with those of Maeser, but he was “never made to feel that it made the slightest difference in his regard or attention.”

48. “Principal’s Report,” 27 October 1876.

49. Editor’s Note: Men in the LDS Church who are worthy are given the “priesthood” or authority to serve in the Church. The Aaronic or lesser priesthood is a preparatory service wherein boys over twelve act in the temporal responsibilities of the Church. When older, they are given the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood to govern and administer in the more spiritual matters of the Church. The “Endowment Quorum” was apparently reserved for young men who had been to the temple, making there even greater covenants of obedience. The

4. Daily religious instruction as part of the curriculum of each department.
5. Reviewing and reciting gospel doctrine on Mondays at 4:00 P.M. Students were divided into various quorums for this meeting.
6. Maintaining records of the proceedings of each class. This work was done by a student who was appointed clerk.

Summarizing the function of the Theology Department, the *Deseret News* said that “the theological instructions of the Academy form the basis and foundation or rather focus of all the studies and the whole discipline, and a theological organization pervades the entire Academy.”⁵⁰

Endowment Quorum division of Academy priesthood meetings did not last more than a year or two (see BYA Faculty Minutes, 24 October 1884).

50. *Deseret News*, 22 March 1877, quoted by Maeser in his “Principal’s Report” issued 26 March 1877. The *Deseret News* article also contained the following description of a typical BYA theological meeting:

Roll Call by monitor of the theological department, who is a seventy and who keeps the roll of this class and of the priesthood, singing by choir, the monitor for the musical department giving out the hymn; prayer by one of the students, the young men having taken their place in the order of their priesthood, those having no priesthood remaining in their regular seats. Singing again by the choir. During this exercise the Principal, Professor Maeser, is the organist and practices the hymns with the choir, which he may want them to sing in a separate singing lesson once a week. The secretary’s place is filled by the young lady students in turns, each one nominating every time her own successor. The minutes of the previous meeting are read and adopted, and then she is expected to enter them over her signature in a large book kept for the purpose. The chair is occupied in turns by the young men who hold the priesthood, each one nominating his own successor. The Principal occupies a seat behind the chairman, to assist him with counsel whenever needful. The executive committee, consisting of three students from the grammar and three students from the intermediate department, having previously made all the appointments for the exercises and questions and answers, hands them now to the Principal for his approval or alteration, while the chair calls for the exercise which is expected to occupy about fifteen minutes. Subjects are given by the Principal and appointments by the excommittee. Then follows a reading in prose and one in poetry from standard works of the

By 1883 missionary meetings were added to the Theological Department's roster of assignments. Returned missionaries were often invited to address the young men in preparation for active voluntary service for the Church.⁵¹ Presidents John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and many other General Authorities attended these missionary assemblies to give counsel, instruction, and encouragement.⁵²

In time, the Theological Department developed into a quasicclesiastical unit. Though students were expected to attend the neighborhood Provo wards, out-of-town students felt the need to attend church services together. Close friendships developed in the theology classes led to unity and camaraderie in Sunday worship. As a result, the student body gradually approached a point of unique ecclesiastical status. In 1886 Thursday fast and testimony services, including administration of the sacrament, were apparently conducted.⁵³

In February 1877, during the school's second term, Maeser tried to intensify the religious spirit of his students by encouraging all Mormon students to be "rebaptized."⁵⁴ He also,

Church; then an essay on some divine truth, which is kept on file; then comes answers to questions handed in and assigned for answer the week previous. Only questions of a theological nature are admitted. It is surprising what progress the young people are making in those answers.

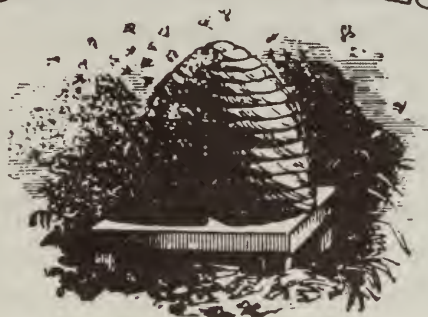
51. Editor's Note: Since the very earliest days of the history of the Latter-day Saints, young men (and, to a lesser extent, young women) have been encouraged to serve two- or three-year missions for the Church. During Maeser's time the United States, England, Scandinavia, the Sandwich Islands (later Hawaii), and the South Pacific were the most prominent fields of missionary labor. Today more than 18,000 full-time missionaries serve the Church throughout the world.
52. "Brigham Young Academy: Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 13 November 1883.
53. BYA Faculty Minutes, 13 September 1886; "B. Y. Academy Principal's Report," *Utah Enquirer*, 29 May 1888.
54. Editor's Note: "Rebaptism" was occasionally practiced in the Church until about 1890. It signified a recommitment to baptismal covenants. The practice was begun after the Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. The body of the Church had suffered so much and toiled so long in crossing the plains and establishing a new home that it was felt fitting to recommit the membership through rebaptism. Talmage

with the approval of hometown bishops, ordained students to priesthood offices.⁵⁵ Because of his responsibility to care for his pupils, Maeser carefully monitored their Sunday attendance at Church meetings.⁵⁶ On one occasion he told students that he had “made a public promise to your parents that I would look after their sons and daughters, and having made that promise I am in duty bound to see that it is kept. Parents have told me that chiefly owing to this promise they have sent their sons and daughters, knowing that they will be looked after and cared for. Some of them even saying they knew their sons will be better here than they would at home.”⁵⁷ While the Academy was not administered or officially sponsored by the Church during this period, the zeal and dedication of Karl G. Maeser made it, *de facto*, a Church institution.⁵⁸

recorded that, in a meeting he attended, the authorities were unanimous in declaring that “rebaptism is not recognized as a regularly constituted principle of the Church; and that the current practice of requiring rebaptism as a prerequisite for admission to the temples, etc., is unauthorized. Nothing should be put in the way of anyone renewing his covenants by rebaptism if he feels the necessity of so doing; and of course in cases of disfellowship, or excommunication, a repetition of the baptism is required but the making of rebaptism a uniform procedure is not proper. President George Q. Cannon expressed the opinion that the practice of repeating baptism arose from the example and teaching of Pres. Brigham Young in the days of first immigration to these parts, when the journey meant a long separation from organized branches and wards of the Church and consequently an interruption in the observance of regular church duties. The conditions are changed now and the counsel given for special circumstances should not be made applicable to general procedure under all circumstances.” Rebaptism was discontinued in the early 1890s “as not being a regularly constituted principle of the Church” (Journal of James E. Talmage, 29 November 1893).

55. Journal of Joseph Jabbe Anderson, 21 September 1885.
56. BYA Faculty Minutes, 16 February 1877.
57. Brigham Young Academy Domestic Department Minutes, 15 January 1880, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as BYA Domestic Department Minutes).
58. Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 16 October 1895 (excerpt from a talk, apparently by Joseph E. Taylor, given that day): “The B. Y. Academy was formed for a specific purpose, which was to give its scholars a thorough and a complete theological training; for President Young recognized that the present system of Education tended toward in-

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.



THE
Academic Review

A Journal of the
POLYSOPHICAL SOCIETY

— OF THE —

Brigham Young Academy,
PROVO, - - - - - UTAH.

Devoted to Science, Literature and Art.

VOL. I.

MAY, 1885.

No. 8

PROVO CO-OPERATIVE CLOTHING DEPARTMENT,

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DEALERS IN CLOTHING

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The Polysophical Society

The Polysophical Society was another successful Academy organization during Maeser's administration.⁵⁹ The society was founded by Principal Maeser during the second term of the second academic year "to supply the students opportunities for public training, and the means of obtaining useful incidental instruction."⁶⁰ James E. Talmage was appointed president of the society with Joseph B. Keeler and Willard Done as assistants.⁶¹ Marion Tanner was also president for three years. Membership in the society was optional, and its evening lectures and activities were open to Academy students and Provo residents alike. Talmage described it as an "adjunct to the Academy" with "none of the exercises in any manner connected with the daily exercises of the school." Society members "availed themselves of this opportunity of informing their minds on subjects outside of the regular routine, thus using their spare evening hours advantageously."⁶² The club was operated primarily by the students themselves, but "guest speakers were often brought to address the society."⁶³

Discussions and presentations usually dealt with literature, science, music, fine arts, or civil government. The society became a forum for students to express opinions, display talents, and report research findings. Concerts, dramas, operas, lectures, moot courts, and recreational activities were featured from week to week. The *Academic Review* was issued every five weeks by the Polysophical Society to report past meetings and to preview future activities of the organization.⁶⁴

fidelity. Not that infidelity was in the least degree taught in our public schools; but the entire absence of all religious instruction and religious influence was calculated to lead our children away from God."

59. Editor's Note: Polysophical means "multiskilled, clever, and wise."

60. "Doings of the Polysophical Society," *The Academic Review* 1 (October 1884): 1.

61. Editor's Note: Willard Done later became principal of Latter-day Saints College in Salt Lake City.

62. "Principal's Report," 2 April 1880, BYU Archives, p. 80.

63. Eva Maeser Crandall Interview, p. 88.

64. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, April 1883, p. 7. Zina Young

The School Choir

From the very beginning, music was an important part of Brigham Young Academy student life. A choir was first organized to sing at theological gatherings. The Music Department soon developed as an extracurricular activity for scholars. All three graded departments later included regular classroom singing in their curricula. A piano and an organ from the old Timpanogos Branch were added to school facilities, and vocal, choral, and instrumental lessons were offered during class hours. Nettie Southworth supervised music activities until she left for Ogden, where she obtained higher pay. Willard Done, Mrs. Mabel McAllister, Miss Lillie Roberts, and H. E. Giles took turns supervising the music students. Under Giles a glee club was organized that presented musical festivals as far away as Logan.⁶⁵ Students with musical talent participated in almost every concert, religious gathering, and graduation sponsored by Brigham Young Academy. Music clearly made a major contribution to the cultural development of the school.

Card recalled some of the early activities of the Polysophical Society:

In our dramatic efforts I had the pleasure of being the prima-dona with Senator William King as the leading man. Sister Susa [Young Gates] was our musical inspiration. And the eminent men and women of today who attended that school stand out as monuments of its wonderful spirits, matchless characters, and cultivation of the conscience and spirit of the gospel given out by our Professor Maeser. And fancy him attending one of our experimental courts with Senator George Sutherland on one side and John E. Booth and Brother Thurman, William King and Senator Smoot as our lawyers to try the trembling offenders. President George Brimhall, Apostle James Talmage, Dennis Harris, Willard Done, Benjamin Cluff, J. M. Tanner, Daniel Harrington, N.L. Nelson, Thomas N. Taylor, John Dixon, Sterling Williams, the Eggertson brothers, and scores of others, soon to become men of learning and renown, lived and played and danced and studied and worked within the walls of the dear old Brigham Young Academy (Zina Young Card, "Sketch of School Life in the Brigham Young Academy, 1878-1884," BYU Archives, p. 5).

65. *Deseret News*, 17 December 1890.

The Struggle for a Library

Karl Maeser early recognized the need for a good school library. In 1877 he said that

from the founding of this Academy, the forming of a Library has been one of the chief objects of the Board of Directors and the Faculty; but the want of means has prevented us, thus far, from acquiring this essential element of an educational institution; the rapid development of the Academy, however, in number of students as well as in studies, has made it an imperative necessity to secure to us in some way the privileges of a Library, the lack of which is proving seriously detrimental to our progress.⁶⁶

One of the urgent early requirements was a set of the standard works—Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price. From a practically empty shelf in 1876, library officials accumulated 496 volumes and 2,082 periodicals by the summer of 1883.⁶⁷ Included in this collection were valuable donations such as H. H. Cluff's gift of a complete set of *Chamber's Encyclopedia*.⁶⁸ George Q. Cannon, at the time busy defending the Church in Washington, helped the school obtain a valuable collection of maps, charts, and books from the U. S. Department of the Interior. Near the end of 1881 the library obtained subscriptions to the *Territorial Enquirer*, the *Deseret Evening News*, and the *Salt Lake Herald*.

Unfortunately, the 1884 fire destroyed two-thirds of the library. All the normal and astronomical text and reference books were destroyed, along with most of the wall maps. Professor Maeser personally lost between forty and fifty dollars worth of books.⁶⁹ John T. Caine, Utah's delegate to Congress, was able to secure replacements for most of the Interior

66. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1877, p. 1.

67. "Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 15 June 1883.

68. "Principal's Report," 15 January 1877, BYU Archives.

69. "Saved from the Fire: Incidents of the Conflagration," *Territorial Enquirer*, 22 February 1884.

Department materials that were lost in the fire.⁷⁰ By the end of 1890 the library, under Emil B. Isgreen, had 751 bound volumes, 532 pamphlets, and 335 periodicals. A separate normal library under Wilford McKendrick had 99 volumes.⁷¹

Scientific Collections

The Academy's collection of biological, minerological, and geological displays was called "The Cabinet" or "The Museum." In the very first term, students brought back "very interesting specimens" of geological formations from excursions to nearby mountains.⁷² Before long these scientific collections were expanded, and a small physics and chemistry laboratory was constructed under the direction of James E. Talmage. In October 1879 Maeser reported that "the Amateur Dramatic Association of Provo" gave a "public performance for the benefit of our Laboratory," earning about \$24. Maeser recommended that "a complete set of chemicals for experiments be procured for that amount."⁷³ Before the 1879-80 school year had ended, the principal again had good news for the newly created Science Department. He told of "the donation by Bro. Levi W. Richards of Geological specimens, selected, classified, and labelled by Prof. Barfoot of the Deseret Museum."⁷⁴ The scientific collections continued to grow, and, when James E. Talmage went to the East to study in 1882, Milton H. Hardy assumed control of the Science Department and the scientific collections.

Athletics

During early days, athletics did not play an important part in Brigham Young Academy student life. The Board, the faculty, and the LDS Church felt that education occurred in the classroom, not on the playing field. Maeser was adamantly

70. BYA Faculty Minutes, 19 April 1884.

71. *Deseret News*, 17 December 1890.

72. "Principal's Report," 27 October 1876, BYU Archives.

73. "Principal's Report," 31 October 1879, BYU Archives, p. 31.

74. "Principal's Report, 11 June 1880.

opposed to athletics, much in keeping with educational ideas of the day.⁷⁵ Later attempts to start intercollegiate football and other athletic competition during the Cluff Administration were strenuously opposed by Karl Maeser, George Q. Cannon, and other leading Church authorities. Sports, therefore, were not officially recognized during the Academy's early years.

Buildings and Custodial Care

The old Lewis Hall, which provided all necessary classrooms in the early years, was a genuine godsend to the struggling young Academy. As the school grew and became more popular, facilities became more crowded. In 1879 the "Academy building [Lewis Hall] contained only six rooms proper, and because of the crowded conditions," the school "had to use the Library room and the Principal's office also as recitation rooms."⁷⁶ A year later, with a student body of 313, there was "an absolute necessity for more room."⁷⁷ At that time, the "Board of Trustees decided to build on to the old Academy and raise a story higher the grammar department." This addition was completed later in 1880.⁷⁸

When enrollment increased over one hundred more students in the fall of 1880, further enlargement became necessary. The Board embarked upon another building program. Since finances were meager, A. O. Smoot supplied most of the necessary funds. Many people assisted the school, but none

75. Other contemporary educators shared Maeser's view of athletics. Dr. Andrew Dickson White, Cornell's first president, "boasted to alumni gatherings that he had never seen a game of football, baseball, or basketball. Football he regarded as a vestige of barbarity. Since the matches were played beneath his windows until 1893, he was frequently obliged to draw the blinds." In 1893 when President White was asked to authorize a game with the University of Michigan in Cleveland, he decreed, "I refuse to let forty of our boys travel four hundred miles merely to agitate a bag of wind" (Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell*, [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962], p. 48).

76. "Principal's Report," 5 November 1879, BYU Archives.

77. *Ibid.*, 2 April 1880.

78. Zina Young Card, "Sketch of School Life."

quite as generously as President Smoot. With his own means, “at a cost of about \$4,000 Brother Smoot built a roomy addition on the north and fitted it with furniture.”⁷⁹ That same year “the Executive Committee made another addition of 2 large rooms at a cost of upwards of \$2,000.” The committee also added \$1,000 worth of furniture. By then “the buildings could accommodate ‘upward of 400 pupils.’ ”⁸⁰ These additions were ready when the school opened in the fall of 1883. The final addition to Lewis Hall, another wing on the east side of the building, was completed just before the fire in January 1884.⁸¹ By this time the Academy had expanded from six to eleven classrooms.

During early Academy days, Karl Maeser and Milton Hardy functioned as janitors and repairmen at the school. The Lewis Building “had been built for an amusement hall.” It was “cold in winter and hot in the summer.”⁸² Each room had a stove that needed a substantial supply of daily fuel in the winter. Repairs were always needed. Benjamin Cluff was a part-time janitor during his student days. His brother George Cluff became chief janitor. Whenever the faculty assembled, the Janitorial Department was represented by both the chief janitor and Janitorial Department monitor who was in charge of getting students to help keep order. These two gave reports on immediate requirements of the school — and needs ranged from fire shovels to plaster.

Perspectives of Student Life

During Maeser’s administration a total of 3,272 different students registered at Brigham Young Academy. Counting each separate enrollment for each separate term, cumulative enrollment during the Maeser years was about 5,389 students (*see* accompanying chart). Although the Academy was coedu-

79. Susa Young Gates, “President A. O. Smoot,” *The Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (July 1892): 436.

80. BYA Board Minutes, 16 February 1884.

81. *Territorial Enquirer*, 22 February 1884.

82. Zina Young Card, “Sketches of School Life.”

BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY,

TREASURER'S OFFICE.

No. 676

Provo City, Utah, Aug. 31 1895

Pay to the order of *B. Cluff, Jr.* \$ *112.⁵⁰*
One Hundred Twelve & 50/100 Dollars.
 In *Produce* on account of *B. Y. Academy*
 To *Provo Bishop's* } *W. H. Dusenberry*
Storehouse. } *W. H. Dusenberry*
Dep. TREASURER.

BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY,

TREASURER'S OFFICE.

No. 678

Provo City, Utah, Aug. 31 1895

Pay to the order of *Geo. H. Grimhall* \$ *69.⁰⁰*
Sixty-nine Dollars.
 In *Produce* on account of *B. Y. Academy*
 To *Provo Bishop's* } *W. H. Dusenberry*
Storehouse. } *W. H. Dusenberry*
Dep. TREASURER.

Early BYA payroll checks redeemable
 in produce from the
 Provo Bishops Storehouse.

cational from its inception, and Brigham Young had said that if he had to choose between educating his daughters and his sons he would educate his daughters because they were the ones who would educate their families, yet 66.1 percent of Maeser's students were men while only 33.9 percent were women.

The Academy experienced wide fluctuations in total enrollment during the early years. For example, enrollment declined from 464 students in the 1881-82 school year to 193 students in the 1882-83 school year. The 1881-82 enrollment was not reached again until 1889-90, causing serious financial problems. Enrollment was especially low during the 1887-88 school year. After that, enrollment continued to climb through the rest of Maeser's administration, but conditions were sometimes so bad that faculty members went months at a time without pay.

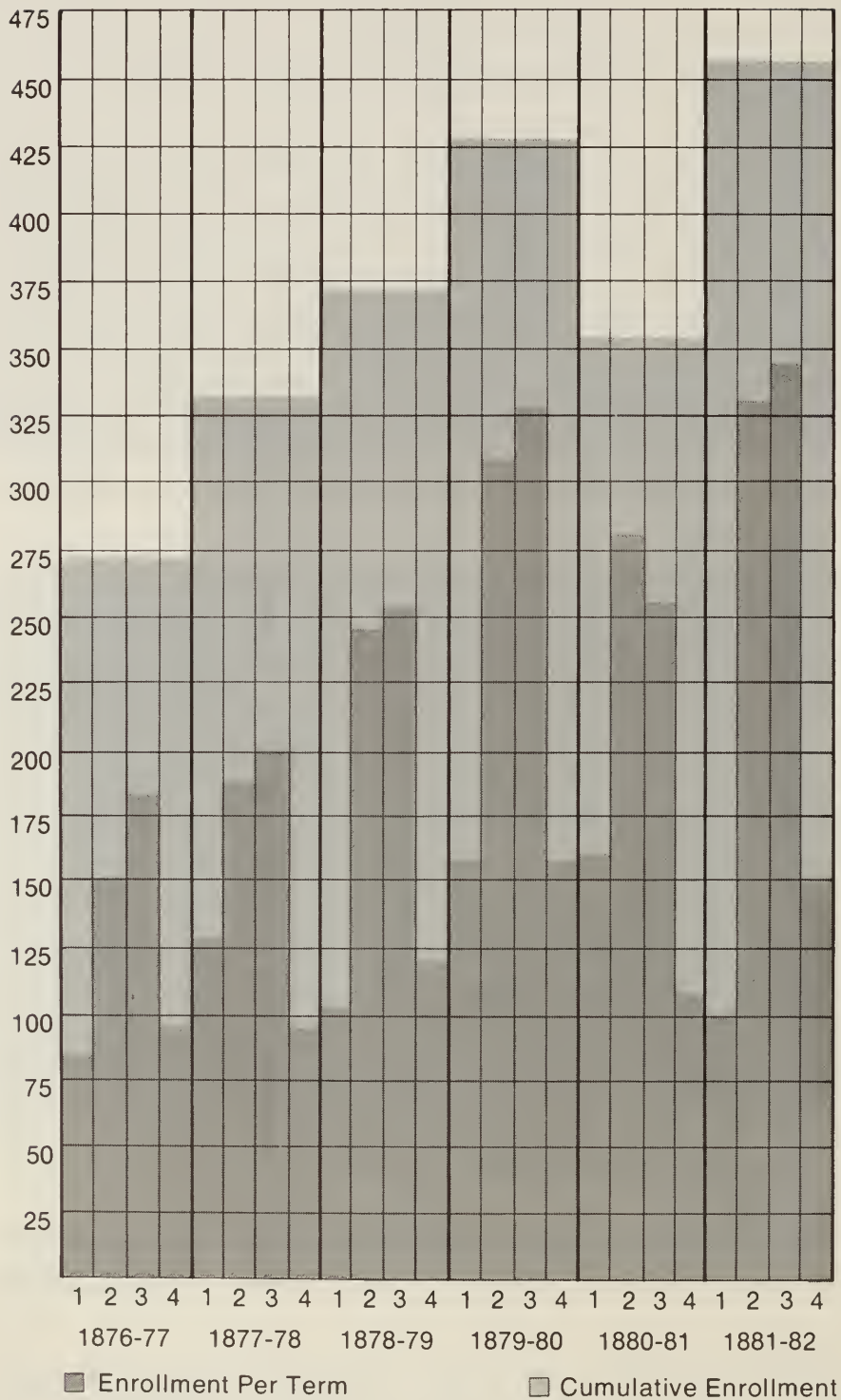
The roller coaster fluctuation of students enrolled during the four ten-week terms within each school year was just as annoying as the fluctuation in total enrollment. Such fluctuations within school years made planning very difficult, though there was a consistent pattern of low enrollment during the first and fourth terms of each year with higher attendance during the second and third terms.⁸³ The agrarian background of Brigham Young Academy students largely accounted for wide seasonal variances in enrollment. Students stayed on the farm during seasons of planting and harvest. They came back to the Academy during the winter months when farms were inactive (*see* chart). To stabilize enrollment, the Academy adopted a two-term system in August 1886. The first term of the new system ran from early September to mid-January. The second term began in mid-January and ended in June.

The average BYA scholar was between fourteen and sixteen years old. However, many in the Primary Department

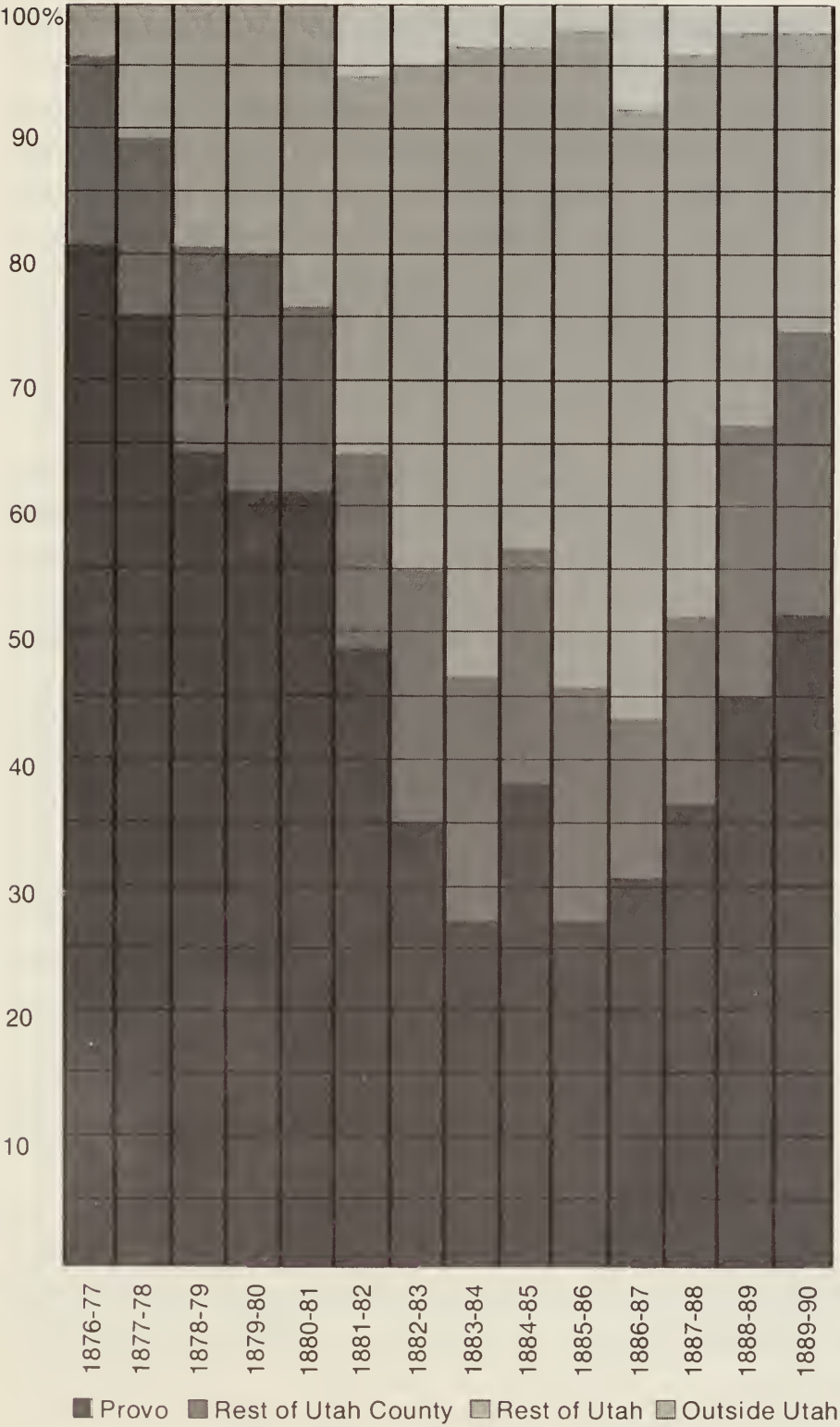
83. The first term ran from late August to early November; the second from mid-November to late January; the third from early February to early April; and the fourth from early April to mid-June.

Brigham Young Academy

Term and Cumulative Enrollment, 1876-82



Geographical Origin of Brigham Young Academy Students, 1876-90



were barely six while some in the Normal Department were in their twenties. The students, of course, were mostly from the local area. The percentage of Academy students from Provo varied considerably during the Maeser period, from eighty-one percent of the total in 1876 to just fifty percent in 1890. Utah County outside Provo, along with Juab, Millard, Salt Lake, Sanpete, Tooele, and Wasatch counties, provided most of the additional students. Some students came to the Academy from Arizona, Idaho, and Nevada. As years passed, the declining Provo enrollment, coupled with increased registration by nonresidents, demonstrated both the development of a strong Provo public school system and the Academy's territory-wide reputation as an excellent normal school (*see* chart).

Despite growing territory-wide interest in the Academy, Provo remained the foundation of the school's enrollment during most of the Maeser period. Nonresidents hesitated to send their children to the Academy because the school was slow developing a boardinghouse program. The school's early emphasis on the Primary Department attracted Provo students. Furthermore, since Provo was not equipped with good district schools during the late 1870s, many students began their education at the Academy. With the rise of district tax-financed schools in the early 1880s, Provo's support of the Academy declined noticeably during those years. Complaining of declining local interest in the Academy, Maeser publicly explained in January 1887 "that unless Provo patronized more liberally the Academy next year, she would have no Academy but Salt Lake City would receive the BYA."⁸⁴ Thereafter, Provo representation increased, and the Utah Stake Beneficiary Fund, which paid the tuition of some local scholars, brought more community support to the school.

Journals, letters, histories, and biographies portray the youth and vigor of early Brigham Young Academy students. Their religion formed one of several common denominators which characterized the student body. Most students were

84. Journal of Joseph Jabbe Anderson, 2 January 1887.

devout in their faith, submissive to authority, and convinced that they had a mission to fulfill. As most came from the farm, they were, in the main, accustomed to hard work and sufficiently disciplined to adjust to the vigorous authoritarianism of the school. Many of them were sent to the Academy to obtain the embellishments of civility as well as the fundamentals of learning. Justice George Sutherland, one of the very first students, characterized the rusticity of the student body in his 1941 commencement address:

It was a period when life was very simple, but, as I can bear testimony, very hard as measured by present-day standards. Small boys from mid-spring to mid-autumn usually went without shoes, their naked, stone-bruised feet exposed to the wear and tear of the sunscorched earth — a state of affairs, I must say, however, that would have met their entire approval if it had not entailed, as it was generally thought in the circles most affected, the useless labor of washing a pair of dirty feet certain to be just as dirty the following day.

Their weekday attire at the maximum consisted of a hat of ancient vintage, sometimes with a well-developed hole through the crown of which a lock of hair might be made to wave like the plume of an Indian on the warpath; a hickory shirt the worse for wear; a pair of pants handed down, perhaps, from a former tenant or series of tenants, held in place (the pants, not the tenants) by one suspender, or allowed to defy the force of gravity with the sole and precarious support afforded by the contours of an immature body. For one to appear among his fellows with any marked elaboration upon this attire was to invoke ironic, not to say insulting, comment, often so caustically phrased as to send the misguided lad to the shelter of his home in tears.

Nobody worried about child labor. The average boy of ten worked — and often worked very hard — along with the older members to support the family. He milked, cut and carried in the night's wood, carried swill to the pigs, curried the horses, hoed the corn, guided the plow or, if not, followed it in the task of picking up potatoes which had been upturned, until his young vertebrae ap-

proached dislocation and he was ready to consider a bid to surrender his hopes of salvation in exchange for the comfort of a hinge in the small of his back.⁸⁵

Some of the more sequestered students found the Academy, with its complex activities, a frightening experience. John C. Swensen, who later taught at the school, said he was “homesick, lonely, and depressed” during his first week at the Academy. One evening he “happened to meet Brother Maeser on the street. He stopped and spoke to me. While he did not know me personally, he knew I was a freshman student. His greeting was so cordial, friendly, and sympathetic that I suddenly became a new person and after this interview I skipped on my way up the street.”⁸⁶ It wasn’t, however, all love and fear. Maeser also had a sense of humor. Once when the usually punctual Professor Maeser was late for class his students decided to get even with him, since latecomers were always penalized. A group of youngsters roamed the immediate vicinity and returned to class with a jackass which they tied to his desk. When Maeser finally arrived, the students, in forced silence, anxiously awaited his reaction. The professor entered the room, turned to the class, and dryly remarked in his thick German accent, “I’m happy you chose the smartest student in the class as my replacement.”

School Discipline

Some of the students had been employed in mining towns or on railroad construction crews, where they imbibed more worldliness than Church leaders felt necessary. Commenting on some of these young men who had become an annoyance to the community, Harvey H. Cluff “alluded to the lack of government over the young and rising generation and the prevalence of immorality among the youth, which was grow-

85. George Sutherland, *A Message to the 1941 Graduating Class of Brigham Young University* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University), pp. 3-4 (commencement address delivered 4 June 1941).

86. John C. Swensen, Founders Day Address, 16 October 1951, BYU Archives.

ing to an alarming extent. Urged the teachers to try to bring their influence to bear to curtail these evils.”⁸⁷ Provo had already earned a bad reputation for hoodlumism among a vociferous minority of its youth. The majority, however, arrived at the Academy with real respect for Maeser’s patriarchal authority.

The disciplinary rules of Brigham Young Academy were stricter than those of most schools. Maeser was, first and foremost, an authoritarian. He was orderly, exacting, uncompromising on principle, and unbending in maintaining established regulations. The disciplinary program he established was a direct expression of his sense of responsibility for the students of the Academy. Teenie Smoot related an experience that clearly demonstrated Principal Maeser’s philosophy of classroom discipline:

The first class that I conducted was one on geography, beginning with the first lesson. Among the questions asked was the old familiar one: “What is the shape of the earth?” All hands went up signifying they could tell. I called on a young man to answer, presumably of the “Smart Aleck” species. He seemed in high glee, and could not make his statement intelligible on account of giggling so hard. The young man on his right appeared to be enjoying the fun also.

I remonstrated with them, and they ignored my authority. Thinking all the time, no doubt, “O, she’s only a young girl, and we don’t have to mind her!”

Finally I commanded one of them to occupy a seat designated for him. He refused twice. Without further parleying I wrote a note to Brother Maeser asking to have him come in a few moments. I stated the situation to him briefly and concisely. He administered a physical rebuke and required the young man to ask forgiveness. Turning to me, he said, “Miss Smoot, if anything of this nature occurs again, let me know and I will see that they are duly punished.”

He also gave them a moral lecture. It had the desired

87. Utah Stake Historical Records, 17 April 1883.

effect. I never had any trouble after that, and the two with whom I had the difficulty seemed to show the most respect and were always the most anxious to aid their teacher ever after. One of them remarked to the lady with whom he boarded, "That Miss Smoot meant business, there was no fooling with her."⁸⁸

Academy discipline was very strict. School parties were allowed only two or three times a year. Parties began early and ended at 10:00 P.M.⁸⁹ No smoking was permitted on campus or in the boardinghouses.⁹⁰ Theatergoing was allowed only once a week. Students were advised to suspend studies on Sunday. Vulgar language, profanity, and obscenity in all forms were strictly prohibited and could be punished with expulsion. The use of strong drinks was not allowed.⁹¹ In addition, "The teachers were strictly charged to see that no lady student was permitted to go out without some covering on her head."⁹² Maeser ruled that "no one could go to the railroad depot, close by, before and after school,"⁹³ and further prohibited any student from "attending the skating rink." Loitering "around stores and street corners" was not approved.⁹⁴

Karl G. Maeser desired Brigham Young Academy to be a shining example of proper student conduct, exemplary behavior, and intellectual excellence. He considered rigid moral discipline absolutely essential to the accomplishment of his aims. He told students, "We cannot have our presence polluted by bad spirits. See that the reputation of the Academy is not darkened by anything you do."⁹⁵ Maeser also reminded students that it was his right to monitor their activities: "Some may think it none of my business where they are or what they do when out of school, but that is the law of the Academy, and

88. Teenie Smoot Taylor, "Reminiscences," pp. 342-43.

89. Zina Young Card, "Sketches of School Life."

90. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 14 December 1881.

91. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, February 1881.

92. BYA Faculty Minutes, 15 February 1884.

93. Minutes of the General Theology Class, 12 November 1884, UA 197, BYU Archives.

94. *Ibid.*, 7 January 1885.

95. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 30 September 1880.

if they wish to be none of my business, all they have to do is leave.”⁹⁶ Maeser expected students to live up to his vision of the destiny of the school. “You will be watched,” he said, “for something out of the common line is expected of you as students of the Academy.”⁹⁷

Domestic Organization

Nonresident students and even students in Provo who lived in the homes of Latter-day Saints were subject to the observation and discipline of the “Domestic Organization.”⁹⁸ Early domestic regulations stated:

- a. All students of the Academy are subject to our domestic regulations in and out of school.
- b. The students will be visited in their residences at stated intervals by representatives of the Principal.
- c. No student shall choose a boarding place or lodging unless such be approved of by the Board or the Faculty.
- d. Where two or more students reside in one house, one of them will be appointed to act as Senior.
- e. Reports have to be made by the Seniors at regular meetings of the organization.
- f. Boarding can be obtained at the rate of \$3.00 and \$4.00 per week.⁹⁹

Students were advised “to pay their board bills promptly and not to play the gentleman, and make the Land Lady wait on them, but to lend a helping hand, so that the people would not think them a nuisance, and thus destroy the reputation of the Academy.” They were urged not “to run in debt at the stores, or to put on style.”¹⁰⁰

96. Ibid., 19 February 1880.

97. Ibid., 21 December 1880.

98. Maeser’s organization was based on the Prussian system, where pupils lived in families “under the control and oversight of the school.” Their “conduct and manner of life” were “carefully looked after” (Seeley, *Common-School System of Germany*, p. 140).

99. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1879-80, p. 3.

100. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 10 November 1881.

From September 1884 until May 1886 the school operated a boardinghouse at the corner of First West and Center Street donated by David John and Samuel Liddiard in July 1884.¹⁰¹ Large enough for sixty students, the three-story "Academy Boarding House" had twenty-three bedrooms and housed both men and women boarders.¹⁰² Mrs. Jennie Tanner was matron and J. B. Keeler steward. The house was supervised by Willard Done. Board and room amounted to \$2.50 per week or \$10 per month.¹⁰³ In keeping with the policy of the entire domestic program, the boardinghouse had an elaborate and strict set of rules, and the place ran on schedule not unlike a railroad timetable:

Time Table

Rising: During 1st and 4th terms, at 6 A.M.; during 2nd and 3rd terms, at 6:30 A.M.

Second Bell—Roll call, prayer and breakfast: During 1st and 4th terms at 7 A.M.; during 2nd and 3rd at 7:30 A.M.

Third Bell—Only Saturday and Sunday for lunch at 1 P.M.

Fourth Bell—Supper at 5:30 P.M.

Fifth Bell—Study: During 1st and 4th terms at 7:30 P.M.; during 2nd and 3rd terms at 7 P.M.; study to close at 9 P.M. with evening prayer.

Sixth Bell—Roll Call, and retiring at 10 P.M.¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, due to the overall financial plight of the school and the financial insolvency of the boardinghouse itself, this Academy-sponsored accommodation was discontinued in 1886. With the closing of the boardinghouse, the Academy once again had to rely on faithful Provo families "who would offer their services and homes to the students at a moderate but remunerative price."¹⁰⁵

101. BYA Board Minutes, 11 July 1884.

102. BYA Faculty Minutes, 6 June 1885.

103. "Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 20 October 1885; John C. Swensen, Founders Day Address, 16 October 1951.

104. "The Brigham Young Academy." *Deseret News*, 14 August 1885.

105. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 24 August 1880.

Visitorial System

Maeser inaugurated a “Visitorial System” similar to but much stricter than the present home teaching and visiting teaching programs of the LDS Church. By this means, the administration kept a close watch on the manners, morals, and activities of Academy students. “Visitors” were students assigned to visit the boarding homes of the various students once every two weeks to monitor their obedience to school regulations. Though discipline at the Academy was strict, school officers felt that a trust had been conferred upon them by the parents of these youth and that they carried a guardian’s responsibility to take care of their wards both in and out of the classroom. For the most part, the visitorial system functioned very successfully since the Academy received very few “complaints from the Ladies and Gentlemen with whom the students are boarding.”¹⁰⁶ As more and more students arrived from out of town, the work of the Domestic Department became so important that Principal Maeser called it “the backbone of the reputation of the Academy.”¹⁰⁷

When discipline was necessary, it usually came swiftly. Punishment ranged from personal reprimands for the most minor infractions and house arrests for more serious offenses (such as staying out too late or attending more than three parties a term) to expulsion from school for flagrant immorality.¹⁰⁸ Moral infractions were also punishable by disfellowship or excommunication from the Church. Physical punishment was not unknown, but the main emphasis was an appeal to the honor of the student. James E. Talmage explained that

all our conduct in this Academy of teachers as well as students, all our discipline, all our studies, are conducted according to the spirit of the living God. Any student that would not have this desire would be entirely careless or indifferent to the principle, before long would discover

106. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 23 November 1882.

107. *Ibid.*, 21 April 1881.

108. BYA Faculty Minutes, 16 February 1885.

himself in endless difficulties, running against snags. With all his care he cannot avoid it; it is impossible. He would look upon the rules and regulations of the Brigham Young Academy as a strait jacket arrangement, as he would only have to conform to them for outward appearances. If he endeavors to be guided by that same spirit the rules and regulations instituted here become a part of his nature. He will not be able to see how it could possibly be otherwise; his spirit fits and accommodates itself to the rules and the rules accommodate themselves to his spirit. . . . You all know it is my habit to watch my students, not in the spirit of fault-finding, but with the feeling of a father, a brother, and a teacher.¹⁰⁹

Maeser intended to make Brigham Young Academy an exercise in obedience and soul-building as well as a traditional academic experience. Despite the rigidity of his philosophy, all of Maeser's directions were couched in a sincere conviction that learning obedience to rules of school and Church was more important to educating the soul than a mere accumulation of facts.

Maeser the Master Teacher

Maeser loved aphorisms, and he was a genius at making them fit the lives of his students. A review of some of his favorite sayings gives good insight into his philosophy of life in general and education in particular. He expressed his empathy for students and his confidence in their inherent goodness in the following sayings:

There is a Mt. Sinai for every child of God, if he only knows how to climb it.

The good angels never lose an opportunity of calling attention to something good in everybody.

He constantly admonished his students to live close to the Lord and to be guided by His spirit:

A true Latter-day Saint is one who has dedicated him-

109. BYA Theological Minutes, 13 October 1879.

self soul and body to God, in all things spiritual and temporal.

There is no truth that has not its source in the Author of all truth.

You can pray best when you feel most like praying, but you should pray most when you feel least like it.¹¹⁰

He advised parents and hundreds of his students who aspired to be teachers that “I would rather trust my child to a serpent than to a teacher who does not believe in God.”

Maeser gave his students cogent advice as they prepared to face the challenges of life:

Our patriarchal blessings are paragraphs from the book of our own possibilities.

The Lord had unconditionally declared the triumph of His Church, but His promises to me are all conditional. My concern therefore is about myself.

School is a drill in the battle of life; if you fail in the drill you fail in the battle.

A being without an aim in life, or not possessing the requisite concentration of purpose to assist him in resisting temptation, is like a cork floating upon the water, driven hither and thither by every wind that blows.¹¹¹

Maeser exhorted his students to be faithful to the moral principles of their religion:

Everyone of you, sooner or later, must stand at the forks of the road, and choose between personal interests and some principles of right.

A man without character is like a ship without a rudder.

No righteous rules, however rigid, are too stringent for me; I will live above them.

110. He also said:

If we knew the design of our Father in Heaven, with respect to us, we would thank Him for all the experiences that visit us.

One who has lost the Spirit of the Lord is dead spiritually.

Let your first good morning be to your Heavenly Father.

111. He also advised:

Whatever you do, don't do nothing; whatever you be, don't be a scrub.

If you want excuses, go to the Devil—he can give you any number.

No man shall be more exacting of me or my conduct than I am of myself.

He who deceives others is a knave, but he who deceives himself is a fool.

Everyone's life is an object lesson to others.¹¹²

Two months before he died, Karl Maeser visited the Academy and left a short message with the students. On the board of one of the classrooms, he wrote four short thoughts — inspirational thoughts which, coming from a man who spent his lifetime inspiring, contained the wisdom that can come only after a full, devoted life in the service of one's fellow men. The thoughts were:

1. The fear of God is the beginning of all wisdom.
2. This life is one great assignment, and that is to become absorbed with the principles of immortality and eternal life.
3. Man grows only with his higher goals.
4. Never let anything impure enter here.

With these uplifting spiritual views, Maeser was idolized by his students. Justice George Sutherland wrote: "The B. Y. Academy will never cease to be one of my precious memories. It came into my life at a time when its teachings and influence were most needed."¹¹³ At another time, he said,

Dr. Maeser was not only a scholar of great and varied learning, with an exceptional ability to impart what he knew to others, but he was a man of such transparent and natural goodness that his students gained not only knowledge, but character, which is better than knowledge. I have never known a man whose learning covered

112. Maeser also exhorted:

Be yourself, but always your better self.

Make the man within you your living ideal.

My word shall always be as good as my bond.

Say to your soul, "Let no unclean thing ever enter here."

What we did before we came to earth conditioned us here. What we do here will condition us in the world to come.

113. George Sutherland to George H. Brimhall, 21 March 1925, Daniel Harrington Papers, BYU Library Special Collections.

so wide a range of subjects, and was at the same time so thorough in all. His ability to teach ran from the Kindergarten to the highest branches of pedagogy. In all my acquaintance with him I never knew a question to be submitted upon any topic that he did not readily and fully answer. In addition to all this he had a wonderful grasp of human nature and seemed to understand almost intuitively the moral and intellectual qualities of his students. He saw the shortcomings as well as the excellences of his pupils, and while he never hesitated to point them out — sometimes in a genial, humorous way — it was always with such an undercurrent of kindly interest that no criticism ever left a sting. He was, of course, an ardent believer in the doctrines of his Church, but with great tolerance for the views of those who differed with him in religious faith. I came to the old Academy with religious opinions frankly at variance with those he entertained, but I was never made to feel that it made the slightest difference in his regard or attention.¹¹⁴

Not a profound thinker, Maeser stressed what he believed to be the spiritual background of things. To him, scientific discovery and academic achievement were far less rewarding than the challenge of improving the lives of his students. He emphasized the student rather than the subject. John C. Swensen wrote, “He was not a great scholar, but he was a great teacher. What ideas he had he could teach effectively.”¹¹⁵ Maeser loved adulation. As N. L. Nelson explained, “His work as an educator had borne such exceptional fruits in character, that wherever he went he became the object of extravagant praise. And he liked it — adulation became the nectar to which he looked forward on every occasion.”¹¹⁶

Maeser’s successor in office, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who studied under such leaders in American education as President James Burrill Angell of the University of Michigan, John

114. George Sutherland, *A Message to the 1941 Graduating Class of Brigham Young University* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University), pp. 9-10.

115. Autobiography of John C. Swensen, p. 6.

116. Nels L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 27 July 1919, David O. McKay Papers, Church Historical Department.

Dewey, Aaron Burke Hinsdale, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, and Colonel Francis W. Parker of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago, and who had vigorous disagreements with Maeser during Cluff's fourteen years as assistant principal, principal, and president of Brigham Young Academy, never wavered in his respect for Maeser as a teacher. In 1946 Cluff wrote, "Of all the teachers whom I now recall, none is more prominent and none is recalled with more respect and affection than is Dr. Karl G. Maeser."¹¹⁷ No wonder Maeser once wrote of himself, "If it shall please my Heavenly Father I will be a teacher in Heaven."¹¹⁸ After the professor's death, George H. Brimhall said of Maeser, "He loved light, liberty, and little children; a mighty leader he was, that loved to be led. A peacemaker was he; and as a child of God. His first good morning and his last good night were to the Lord. He was a warrior who never planned for a retreat. He had no time to make money; every moment was used in making manhood."¹¹⁹

The tribute which Maeser prized most came from President Wilford Woodruff. A week after the dedication of the Academy Building, Karl Maeser told James E. Talmage that Wilford Woodruff had

told him from the Lord, that his labors had been accepted of the Lord and that the Brigham Young Academy during the 15 years of his principalship had been conducted by inspiration. "And this," said Bro. Maeser to me, "I regard above all possible riches of earth." What greater satisfaction could be given to man, than the assurance of divine approval on his work! And where is man to be found more worthy of such a blessing than my teacher and friend, Brother Maeser?¹²⁰

117. Eugene L. Roberts and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," typescript history in BYU Archives, p. 16.

118. Alma Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator*, p. 73.

119. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 169. Nels L. Nelson, who was Maeser's secretary for twelve years, wrote of him, "It was to the Lord he went for guidance, often between classes, in the seclusion of his office" (Nels L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 27 July 1919, David O. McKay Papers).

120. Journal of James E. Talmage, 11 January 1892.

Evaluation of Maeser Administration

Under Karl G. Maeser Brigham Young Academy established itself as one of the leading schools in Utah Territory. The school's curriculum continually expanded to meet the ever changing and ever increasing needs of local and regional education. But the peculiar uniqueness of the school lay, not in its academic emphasis, but in its religious foundation. Maeser placed the development of character above the development of intellect. He believed that a testimony of the gospel and "entering the kingdom of God" were the "central achievement of life and therefore the biggest thing in education."¹²¹ Maeser placed every student on his word of honor. He once said, "I have been asked what I mean by word of honor. I will tell you. Place me behind prison walls — walls of stone ever so high, ever so thick, reaching ever so far into the ground — there is a possibility that in some way or another I may be able to escape. But stand me on that floor and draw a chalk line around me and have me give my word of honor never to cross it. Can I get out of this circle? No, never! I'd die first!" He urged that every student had given his word of honor "to keep the Word of Wisdom, to live a clean life, to protect every woman's virtue, even against herself." These traits seemed to him to be "the most natural, the most obvious thing to do. Indeed, compromise on anything involving principle became evidence of a weakling — the yellow streak in character." Having pledged every student to live by his word of honor, Maeser was "too good a teacher to mistake a resolution for a habit. The resolution was the right start: soul-integrity, he realized, is possible only by making the resolution a habit. But moral habits," he knew, depended "upon many trifling details: neat personal appearance; politeness and courtesy to teachers, fellow-students, and citizens; economy in expenditure; contracting no debts; keeping proper hours; avoiding places of ill-repute; avoiding clandestine associates; attending and taking part in family devotions."¹²²

121. Nels L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 10 August 1919, David O. McKay Papers.

122. Ibid.



Staff of the "BYA Student," the
first student publication of
Brigham Young Academy.

Faculty, students, and alumni became devoted disciples of Maeser's philosophy. Along with Professor Maeser, they were in large part responsible for the development of the *esprit de corps* of the school which continues to this day. Maeser will always be known as the spiritual architect of both Brigham Young Academy and Brigham Young University. His loyalty, above all, was to the Church. He surrendered the aristocracy of his birth for the poverty of Provo, but in so doing he acquired an abiding testimony of the divinity of Jesus Christ. He served the Lord and his fellowmen equally well. Karl Maeser spent his last years in the promotion of a Church school system. That he went beyond Brigham Young Academy in his plans was not only unavoidable, but commendable. Except for serious economic developments, his dream for a unified Church school system would probably have materialized. While his plans for an integrated Church school system patterned after Brigham Young Academy never came to fruition, Brigham Young University will forever stand as a living testimony to what he accomplished.¹²³

123. This volume originally contained a chapter entitled "The Struggle for Educational and Political Control of Utah Territory." However, because it was not a part of the history of BYU itself but only related to educational and political influences of the time, the chapter has been included as an appendix to this volume. It tells of the struggle between Mormons and non-Mormons for control of education in the territory, the establishment of the Church school system, legislation against plural marriage, the Manifesto of 1890, and Church policy relating to religious training in LDS secondary schools.

8

Charting a New Course: 1892-1900

Benjamin Cluff, Jr., successor to Karl G. Maeser as principal of Brigham Young Academy, was influenced by such leaders in American education as James Burrill Angell, president of the University of Michigan; Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University; John Dewey of Columbia University; Aaron Burke Hinsdale, professor of education at the University of Michigan; and Colonel Francis W. Parker of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago. Cluff was the son of a New England convert to Mormonism, Benjamin Cluff, Sr., who had made Provo his home. There Benjamin, Jr., was born on 7 February 1858. The family moved to Logan when he was four years old. When Benjamin was seven, he, his mother, his sister Mary Jane, and his brother George joined Benjamin, Sr., who was serving a mission for the LDS Church in the Hawaiian Islands. The Cluffs lived and worked at the Church plantation at Laie where Benjamin, Jr., helped pick cotton and harvest sugar cane. While at Laie, the Cluffs subsisted on food raised on their land or secured by barter from natives. After five years in Hawaii, the Cluffs returned to Utah in 1870.

Up to the time of his return from the Hawaiian Islands, young Benjamin's education was under the tutelage of his



Benjamin Cluff, Jr., principal
and president of Brigham Young
Academy from 1892 to 1903.

mother. Five years later, at the age of seventeen, he went to Coalville, Utah, to live with his uncle William W. Cluff who was president of the Summit Stake. There Benjamin became city librarian and energetically entered the world of books. When Benjamin was nineteen, his uncle Samuel Cluff visited Coalville and gave Benjamin, Jr., a glowing picture of Brigham Young Academy and its inspiring leader, Karl G. Maeser. After receiving permission from his father to attend the Academy, Benjamin set out to walk the sixty-five miles to Provo. On the way he stopped overnight with his uncle Harvey Cluff at the Cluff ranch between Park City and Kamas. His uncle, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Academy, took Benjamin with him to Provo the next day.

The morning after his arrival in Provo, young Benjamin was introduced to Karl Maeser by his uncle Harvey, who told the principal that the boy was seeking an education and was willing to endure any amount of hardship or privation in order to achieve his purpose. Embarrassed by his uncle's introduction and overawed by the personality of the German teacher, the country boy found himself completely tongue-tied for a few moments. However, Dr. Maeser stepped forward, took Benjamin by the hand, and said, "It is an honor and a pleasure to meet and welcome into our school a young man with an ambition to fit himself for service in God's kingdom. You will be happy here."¹

Cluff worked hard, distinguishing himself as a normal student. At the end of his first year he was offered an instructorship in the Primary Department. In October 1878, however, at age twenty, he was called to be a missionary to the Hawaiian Islands. After three and one-half years in Hawaii, he returned to Utah on 9 May 1882 at the age of twenty-four. Back in Coalville, he was urged by his father to take up farming. But two months later, on 8 July 1882, he received a letter from Karl G. Maeser, offering him a chance to teach at Brigham Young Academy. In his diary for 6 August 1882, Cluff com-

1. Eugene L. Roberts and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," typescript biography in BYU Archives, p. 14.

mented, "Brother Maeser is good company, and there is something to be learned on whatever subject."² Cluff decided to become an educator, and he began as an instructor at Brigham Young Academy on 25 September 1882.

In the Academy catalog for 1883-84, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was listed as a teacher of mathematics and bookkeeping. His annual salary was set at \$540 guaranteed, with a promise of \$600 should the school have a prosperous year. On 16 August 1883 he married Mary John, daughter of David John, counselor in the Utah Stake Presidency. He continued teaching at the Academy until 19 December 1886, when Elder John W. Taylor set him apart to continue his education at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

At the University of Michigan

Cluff proved to be a faithful Latter-day Saint and a diligent student. After arriving in Ann Arbor on December 28, he and his family, along with William H. King (later U. S. Senator from Utah) and others participated in "probably the first religious service ever conducted by the Latter-day Saints in the city of Ann Arbor."³ While at Ann Arbor, the Cluffs held regular church services at their lodgings, and Benjamin defended the Church in private and public debates on campus and through local newspapers. He worked at any honorable job he could obtain, from tutoring students in French for twenty-five cents an hour to working as a steward in an Ann Arbor boardinghouse at eight cents per week per boarder. The time Cluff did not spend working to support his family was used for study. When he returned to the faculty of Brigham Young Academy in 1891, he told his pupils that he would "require no more study from his students than he required of himself, which is about twelve hours daily."⁴

2. Diary of Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 6 August 1882, quoted in Roberts and Cluff, p. 23. Mr. Roberts and Mrs. Cluff had access to Benjamin Cluff's personal diaries, but these diaries are no longer available.

3. Roberts and Cluff, p. 42.

4. *The Normal* 1 (14 September 1891): 1.

During the three and one-half years he spent at Ann Arbor, Cluff distinguished himself as a scholar. He was voted a member of the Adelphi Society, the oldest and most prestigious student organization on campus. He was so successful at debating that Professor Thomas Trueblood urged him to specialize in elocution. He studied in the astronomical observatory and worked for his engineering professor, who was city engineer of Ann Arbor. Cluff organized a mathematics club and obtained an enrollment of twenty-eight members. During his second year he was treasurer of the Adelphi Society and treasurer of the Mathematics Club. That same year he was offered a teaching position in the Territory of Arizona. He passed his courses in mathematics, elocution, and rhetoric without examination and had an easy time in his French examination. He graduated with a group representing only fifteen percent of those who started the course with him.

Cluff had a great gift for making friends. He became a personal friend of President James B. Angell. They had a particular affinity for each other because of the president's interest in "moral and religious education." Angell frequently impressed on his faculty and students that "we make Universities out of men and not out of bricks and mortar."⁵

Homecoming and Experience as Assistant Principal

When Cluff returned to the Academy in June 1890 after three and one-half years in the East, he sensed a feeling of antagonism towards him among his colleagues, especially Principal Maeser who was extremely wary of eastern education. Maeser told James E. Brown, who was thinking of going east to school, that "experience in only too many instances has demonstrated the fact that some of our brightest intellects from among our youth that have gone East have suffered themselves to be swamped by the influences of worldly education and flinging away their divine inheritance having endangered the faith of their fathers. I hold that all the knowl-

5. *University of Michigan Encyclopedic Survey*, 1:71.

edge and learning the world can give us is too dearly paid for the loss of one of these precious souls.”⁶ Maeser told President David John that he objected to having men educated in the East teaching at the Academy unless they unlearned “some erroneous notions, before they take charge here.”⁷

Professor Maeser probably feared that Cluff would introduce unwelcome changes in the school. Cluff, on the other hand, felt the school was lethargic, that the faculty was in a mediocre “rut,” and that the school lacked direction because “Maeser, being also Superintendent of Church Schools, could not pay sufficient attention to class work.”⁸ By September 1890 Maeser sensed a feeling of “estrangement springing up between Brother Benjamin Cluff and some teachers in the Brigham Young Academy, which if not remedied, forbodes no good for the prosperity of this institution and requires my constant attention to prevent any collision that would bring matters to a premature issue.”⁹

In an effort to improve faculty relations, Abraham O. Smoot clarified Cluff’s position on the faculty by proposing to make Cluff assistant principal and eventually principal of the Academy. Maeser told the faculty of the Board’s decision to give Cluff the title of assistant principal with full authority to operate and make decisions for the school while the principal was away. He pleaded for unanimous support for this proposition, asking for Cluff “the same kind of courteous assistance that the teachers had always shown towards” Maeser himself.¹⁰ The faculty voted unanimously to sustain Cluff as assistant principal. Attempting to dignify both the new office and Cluff himself, Maeser informed the faculty of the Church Board of Education’s decision to fully honor Cluff’s degree from the University of Michigan and to bestow upon him the

6. Karl G. Maeser to James E. Brown, 30 May 1892, Karl G. Maeser Papers, Church Historical Department.

7. General Board Minutes, 7 April 1890.

8. Diary of Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 26 June 1890, as quoted in Roberts and Cluff.

9. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, 20 September 1890, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

10. BYA Faculty Minutes, 25 September 1890.

bachelor of mathematics and didactics degree. Maeser was pleased with the results of the meeting. On 10 October 1890 Professor Maeser wrote George Reynolds that, "All difficulties have been removed thus far. Bro. Cluff is checking his impetuosity as much as he can."¹¹

As Cluff assumed a more active role in school administration, he experimented with new educational concepts he had encountered in the East. This seemed to be in keeping with the ideas of John Nuttall and other Church educational leaders who opposed the educational philosophy that tended to "reduce everything . . . to machine-line precision, and to enact rules of a stereotyped character, which does not admit of that individual freedom which every teacher should have as to the method that will suit him best in imparting instruction to his pupils."¹² Early in 1891 Cluff began working confidently to improve the Academy. He upgraded existing programs and worked to prepare the various departments to move into the new Academy Building. Cluff was "pushing things with much energy," but Maeser felt he had to "watch matters closely that the Brigham Young Academy may not lose its anchorage."¹³

Later that year, Maeser returned to the school from an extended trip and found financial affairs in a "terrific muddle." In Maeser's opinion, Benjamin Cluff did not "improve matters either in other respects by his self-will."¹⁴ In this unfriendly atmosphere, Cluff declined to act as assistant principal and spent most of his time in the Normal Department. At the August Board meeting, President Smoot announced that Cluff had resigned as assistant principal because of "a lack of unity between the Principal and himself." After a long discussion, the Board refused to accept Cluff's resignation. Maeser agreed to stay on as principal "till the opening of the second

11. Maeser to Reynolds, 10 October 1890, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

12. L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, 29 January 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers, BYU Library Special Collections.

13. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, 23 February 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

14. Maeser to Reynolds, 1 July 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

semester in January 1892 in the new building, when he would retire anyway, his duties as Superintendent of Church Schools requiring all his energies.”¹⁵ At that time, Cluff would become principal.

Knowing that he would soon be principal, Cluff worked with renewed enthusiasm. Before his installation as head of the school, he was responsible for the establishment of a student loan association and a military science class at the Academy. Along with Smoot and others, he advocated the establishment of a Church normal school at Provo. Following the pattern of the University of Michigan, he changed the length of classes from thirty minutes to an hour.

Maeser and Cluff Compared

As Cluff prepared to take over the helm from Maeser, the contrast between the two educators was apparent. Both were dedicated to the same religion and to the objective of providing the best possible Christian education for the youth of the Church, but Maeser was sixty-three years old, staid in appearance, an adherent of Prussian methodology of education, conservative, and sober in his demeanor, while Cluff was only thirty-four, vibrant, impetuous, and imbued with new educational ideas he had brought from Ann Arbor. Maeser advocated a closed society; Cluff gloried in his stay at the University of Michigan and his association with the faculty there. To Maeser, “evolution was taboo,” and psychology was “the chimera of the human mind.”¹⁶ Cluff’s mind was open to new ideas. Maeser thought the Church Educational System, especially Brigham Young Academy, could produce sufficient teachers to supply the needs of the Church, while Cluff felt there was much in the gentile world which the Church could use. Maeser began his educational training at sixteen and received a sound German education with a rich classical background. Cluff, a product of pioneer Utah, did not enter the

15. BYA Board Minutes, 31 August 1891.

16. N. L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 27 July 1919, David O. McKay Papers, Church Historical Department.

University of Michigan until he was twenty-nine. Maeser was harnessed and broken in; Cluff seemed almost like an unbroken colt. Maeser had become accustomed to the deliberate and often slow speed of Church machinery; Cluff was often impatient with delay.

As soon as Cluff became principal, observers recognized that dissimilarities in background, temperament, training, and perspective would make him a much different administrator than Karl G. Maeser. Though Maeser and Cluff did not always agree on particulars, their first concern was for the good of the Academy. Eva Maeser Crandall once told her father that some people during Cluff's administration didn't "think the school was as good as it was when you were there." Mrs. Crandall said, "I'll never forget how he stopped still on that corner with that cane and said, 'Oh my child, it should never have been said. That is a school of destiny, and no man can thwart its purpose.'"¹⁷

Changing the Guard

On 4 January 1892 the new Academy Building was dedicated, and the principalship of the Academy passed from Karl G. Maeser to Benjamin Cluff, Jr. Harvey H. Cluff, Karl G. Maeser, Abraham O. Smoot, Architect Don Carlos Young, Commissioner A. C. Nelson, Governor Arthur L. Thomas, Warren N. Dusenberry, and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., all spoke to the estimated thousand people gathered for the ceremonies. President George Q. Cannon offered the dedicatory prayer.

Maeser moved the audience to tears with his emotional account of the trials the Academy had been through during its first struggling years. Concluding his speech, he said, "I leave the chair to which the Prophet Brigham had called me, and in which the Prophets John and Wilford have sustained me, and resign it to my successor, and maybe others after him, all of whom will be likely more efficient than I was, but forgive me this one pride of my heart that I may flatter myself in saying:

17. Eva Maeser Crandall Oral Interview, BYU Archives.



Brigham Young Academy Building
as it appeared on Founders Day
around 1900. College Hall is
visible behind the Academy Building.

'None can ever be more faithful.' God bless the Brigham Young Academy."¹⁸

James E. Talmage wrote in his journal that the dedicatory services were "a great event in the history of Provo, and indeed of the Territory." He noted that Maeser's "address was full of pathos." Talmage "could not repress the wish that I fain would have seen him retain the Principalship for at least a term in the new building."¹⁹ The 13 January 1892 issue of *The Normal* editorialized that "the students love Brother Maeser even as a father, and they look upon him as the father almost of this institution, and though he resign his place at the head of the Academy, yet he will always have a place of honor in her halls. As we have only one Moses, one Socrates, one Luther, one Pestalozzi, one Brigham Young, so we have only one Dr. K. G. Maeser."

The Church University

With the dedicatory services for the Academy Building over and the tributes to "old Brother Maeser" still ringing in his ears, Principal Benjamin Cluff, Jr., turned his attention to the stern realities of his new position. Among others, three main concerns immediately occupied his attention. The first was the proposed establishment of a university in Salt Lake City, the position of which as the official LDS Church university might retard the development or even threaten the survival of Brigham Young Academy. The second problem was the financial condition of the school, which had deteriorated considerably during the last years of Maeser's administration. Third, as Cluff struggled to improve the scholastic standing and educational program of the Academy, he had to obtain greater support from the General Authorities and the General Church Board of Education.

Long before Benjamin Cluff, Jr., became principal of Brigham Young Academy in 1892, plans were being made for the establishment of a Church University which would be-

18. Karl G. Maeser, "Final Address," *The Normal* 1 (15 January 1892): 83.

19. Journal of James E. Talmage, 4 January 1892.

come the center of LDS Church education. Church leaders felt the creation of a Church University would compensate for the increased secularization of the University of Utah and the constant attrition of young LDS scholars to the East to study. James E. Talmage wrote the First Presidency that his principal concern was "the preservation of the Spirit of the Gospel in those young men whom we design to make Teachers in our community." Talmage deplored the absence of this spirit "so generally apparent in those who have graduated in our University."²⁰ Besides the need to counteract secularism in the University of Utah, there were other factors that argued in favor of the creation of a Church University: "It is found to be very expensive for young men to go east for that which should be imparted much more cheaply here."²¹

When faced with the problem of choosing a location for the Church University, the first reaction of the Church Board of Education had been to make the Salt Lake Stake Academy the leading educational institution of the Church. As early as 1888 President Wilford Woodruff, successor to John Taylor, had proposed "a first class institution here [Salt Lake City] under Church auspices."²² He and other proponents of the Salt Lake City-based university saw the Salt Lake Stake Academy as the logical foundation for such a school. In May 1889 the name of the Salt Lake Stake Academy, of which James E. Talmage was principal, was changed to Latter-day Saints College. In 1890 the Church Normal Department was transferred from Brigham Young Academy to Latter-day Saints College.²³

Brigham Young Academy's position at the head of the Church Educational System was further threatened in 1891 when the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees heard that Assistant Principal Cluff had been invited to become

20. James E. Talmage to the First Presidency, 22 July 1885, John Taylor Papers.

21. Church Board of Education Papers, 9 April 1889, Church Historical Department.

22. Journal of James E. Talmage, August 1888.

23. General Board Minutes, 7 April 1890.



Wilford Woodruff,
President of The Church of
Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
from 1889 to 1898

Courtesy Church Archives, The Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

affiliated with LDSC. The Board objected to Maeser that “good young men trained at Brigham Young Academy [J. M. Tanner, James E. Talmage, and now apparently Cluff] were always taken from the school” and that, since “Brigham Young Academy was the mother institution of our Church schools . . . it would not be wise to break down a well-trying institution for the sake of building up an experimental one.”²⁴ Maeser attempted to persuade Smoot that the Church Board’s purpose was not to “keep the Academy down” nor to take its best men away, but simply to establish a university in Salt Lake City to stop “that pernicious annual exodus of our young people” to the East.²⁵ Despite these reassurances, the stake presidency traveled to Salt Lake City and persuaded the General Board to allow Cluff to remain at BYA.²⁶ This again showed President Smoot’s influence with the General Authorities.

In December 1891 the General Church Board of Education instructed Captain Willard Young, son of Brigham Young, and James E. Talmage “to take the necessary steps to plan a new institution of higher learning, to be called ‘Young University’ or the ‘Church University’ ”²⁷ This removed the struggling LDS College from consideration as the Church University. Since his new job with the Church University would require all his time, Talmage met with the Salt Lake Stake Board of Education to consider his resignation as president of LDS College. The Trustees of LDSC violently objected to releasing Talmage. They wrote a sharp letter to the President of the Church in which they pointed out that they had secured the services of Dr. Talmage at the request of the President; that at the President’s “direction” they had lowered tuition fees, which materially increased their annual deficit; that, with the President’s “sanction,” they had purchased expensive property, resulting in “an extensive debt”; that to release Talmage so he could “engage in developing Young

24. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 21 March 1891.

25. Ibid.

26. BYA Board Minutes, 23 March 1891.

27. General Board Minutes, 30 December 1891.

University, which is designed to over-top all other Church institutions,” would take away their “prestige”; and that their opportunities for “public financial support” would be ruined if Talmage were to leave the school.²⁸

Despite the vigor and merit of this objection, Church officials were determined to establish a Church University independent of Latter-day Saints College, Brigham Young Academy, and all other existing Church educational institutions. Accordingly, they released Talmage as President of LDSC. On 11 January 1892 Willard Young was announced as president of the new institution and James E. Talmage as his assistant. Young, a graduate of West Point, had already resigned his position in the U. S. Army to become president of the Church University. At his installation, Willard Young spoke of Talmage’s removal from LDS College “as a promotion, and of Young University as a school toward which all other [Church] institutions tend.”²⁹ Dr. Talmage’s job was to develop scientific courses for the new university which was intended to become, “in course of time, a high class university, second to none in the west.”³⁰ Thus, as Benjamin Cluff, Jr., took the helm of Brigham Young Academy in January 1892, the school’s place as foremost institution in the Church school system was seriously threatened.

Circular Eight

This alarm was further heightened by *Circular Number Eight*, issued by the Church General Board of Education in February 1892 to clarify the division of responsibility for higher education among Church schools. Conscious that “the eyes of the world are upon us in this as in all other features of our organization,” the Church Board desired to “perfect in every way possible, the details of our system.” The circular announced the new Church University as “a head to our

28. LDS Department of Education Papers, 14 March 1892, Church Historical Department.

29. *Deseret News*, 11 January 1892.

30. *Ibid.*

system of Church Schools” in which “students who are properly qualified may find facilities for pursuing higher and specialized branches of study. As time progresses, this University will, we hope, offer opportunities for full training in the learned professions of Science, theoretical and applied, Art, Music, Literature, Law, Medicine, and in Mechanical Pursuits, withal not neglecting thorough courses in Theological study.” Furthermore, the circular announced that “there will be but one Church University among us, though as the people increase and their domain of residence extends, departments or branches may be established in many places.” As “grades of organization” of the Church school system, the circular listed special religion classes, seminaries, academies, and the Church University. It authorized “three of the existing Church-schools . . . to carry on Normal work, the Brigham Young Academy of Provo, the Brigham Young College of Logan, and the Latter-day Saints College of Salt Lake City.”³¹

Since each had hoped to become the head of the Church school system, the publication of *Circular Eight* alarmed the administrators of the three major Church schools, even though they were authorized to continue their work as teacher-training institutions.³² Though the three academies

31. *Circular No. 8 of the General Board of Education of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Cannon Publishing House, 1892.)

32. Editor's Note: Cluff undoubtedly felt that Maeser's participation in the plan to found the Church University, which would deprive BYU of its leadership among Church schools, was an act of disloyalty to the Academy. The editor of this history, as one who has had the experience of being both president of BYU and, contemporaneously, either administrator or chancellor of the Church school system, can understand why Maeser, seeing the whole educational program of the Church, had a different view than when he was representing Brigham Young Academy alone. Once, in a meeting of the Board of Trustees in the 1950s where the present editor lamented the fact that there was not enough part-time employment in Provo for students of fast-growing BYU, he expressed the view that it would have been a good thing if BYU had been founded in Salt Lake City in the first place. In view of the rapid growth of BYU since that time, and in view of the many crises the school has survived which forced the closing of other

could not unitedly defeat the proposal to establish a Church University, there were other provisions of *Circular Eight* which they thought they could resist. Fearing that the establishment of the Church University would greatly restrict their institutional rights, Benjamin Cluff, A. O. Smoot, and George H. Brimhall of Brigham Young Academy, along with J. H. Paul of Brigham Young College in Logan, appeared before the General Board in opposition to certain provisions of *Circular Eight*. Principal Cluff, as spokesman for the group, was particularly disturbed because a BYA circular previously approved gave BYA the right to confer degrees, while *Circular Eight* provided that only the General Board of Education, upon certification of its board of examiners, was to have the authority to grant degrees. Cluff argued that the General Board should issue a charter empowering the academies to confer degrees under the regulations of the General Board. If the General Board would not allow BYA to confer degrees as a Church school, then it should at least permit the Academy to obtain legislative authority to confer degrees as a territorial institution. He pointed out that the Church school system was not a school nor a university but a collection of schools working to a common end. After hearing Cluff's arguments, President Cannon appointed a committee of James Sharp, Willard Young, Anthon H. Lund, George W. Thatcher, and Karl G. Maeser to meet with the representatives of the academies to work out a solution to the problem.

Summarizing his reaction to Cluff's presentation, James E. Talmage wrote that Cluff's claim that Brigham Young Academy should have the right to award degrees was "founded in very bad taste; and it was certainly urged with ill-considered ardor." Accordingly, "the decision of the Committee" which met to consider the issue "was that the request could not be granted at present." Talmage felt it was

Church schools, the editor now thinks that he was wrong in that comment and that it was probably providential that BYU was founded and continued in Provo. But he does not think there should be any criticism of brothers Maeser and Talmage for having fostered the Church University.

possible "that the time may come when the power to issue diplomas conferring degrees may be delegated to certain of our leading educational institutions, but I share the opinion of the Committee, that that time has not yet come."³³ The committee allowed Brigham Young Academy to have a school seal, but the right to confer degrees was reserved for the General Board of Education.

Joshua H. Paul, president of Brigham Young College in Logan, represented the three schools' opposition to other provisions of *Circular Eight*. He urged that a provision stating that no stake board could authorize classes beyond the normal course would jeopardize existing courses at BYA, BYC, and LDSC, since they were already conducting more advanced classes. The General Board responded that *Circular Eight* had not been placed in force, and that the academies could apply for special charters. Paul also objected to a provision requiring "uniformity of textbooks," noting that uniform textbooks might be advantageous in the lower grades, but college instructors needed to be free to choose their own texts. The General Board agreed to rescind the uniform textbooks provision.

Circular Eight required a special degree or appointment from the General Board before any teacher could be employed by any academy. Both Paul and Cluff objected, feeling this provision would bring centralized control of education, moving the loose confederation of stake academies with their local boards into a centrally controlled system. Paul therefore requested that the General Board recognize an examination by the individual schools as competent enough to employ teachers. The General Board denied Paul's request, saying that if it were approved, undue latitude would be given to respective schools which might "open the way for even non-members of the Church to become licensed teachers in our Church schools."³⁴

The issues discussed in Cluff's meetings with the General

33. Journal of James E. Talmage, 3 April 1892.

34. General Board Minutes, 3 April 1892.

Board of Education were very important to the future of Brigham Young Academy. Although *Circular Eight* elevated the three leading Church academies above most other Church schools, it clearly subordinated the three academies to the Church University. The centralized control granted to the General Board by *Circular Eight* would allow the academies to advance no faster than the General Board desired. Academy principals also feared that the General Board would use all of its energy to advance the new Church University, forcing the academies to continue on a static course that would eventually restrict them to a high school curriculum. With a \$100,000 building erected but not paid for, the BYA Board thought it incongruous to subordinate the Academy to a new Church school.

The University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Despite opposition from the three leading Church academies, James E. Talmage read a slightly revised *Circular Eight* to a general conference of the Church. The circular, which designated the new “Church University as the head to our system of Church Schools,” was unanimously approved by the conference. At the same conference, Elder Heber J. Grant read a “preamble and Resolution” containing a motion that “the First Presidency . . . appoint a committee of five persons to consider a general plan for the proper founding and endowing of a Church University by, or in behalf of, the whole body of religious worshippers known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” It was suggested that the committee report back to the conference “at the earliest time practical.” The resolution was unanimously approved by the conference. That afternoon President George Q. Cannon announced that the First Presidency had chosen Willard Young, Karl G. Maeser, James E. Talmage, James Sharp, and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to serve on the committee.³⁵ Their selec-

35. Ibid., 4 April 1892.

tion was also approved. The opposition of the three main academies to the creation of a central university and to certain other provisions of *Circular Eight* was unsuccessful, and Cluff, along with Maeser and Talmage, all from Brigham Young Academy, now found himself a member of the committee commissioned to organize the new school. Church discipline had prevailed.

The next day the committee presented a resolution to establish an institution of learning, officially named "The University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," but to be commonly designated the "Church University." The resolution expressed the "willingness and full determination" of the members of the LDS Church "to aid, to the fullest extent of our power, the authorities of our Church in building up said University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." The resolution was approved.

Abandonment of the Church University and Liason with the University of Utah

After approval of the April Conference 1892 resolution to found the school, it took eight months to organize a board of trustees for the new university. The first board meeting was not held until 4 January 1893. By that time the financial depression which had been gaining momentum for some time was developing into a national panic. On 5 May 1893, two months after Grover Cleveland took office as president of the United States, "the value of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange suddenly plunged downward. . . . Thousands of businesses failed. . . . The prices of farm produce dropped so low that farmers could not afford to pay the freight to market. By the end of the year, the nation was in the grip of one of the worst depressions in its history."³⁶ This panic had a devastating effect on the fortunes of Abraham O. Smoot, who on previous occasions had come to the rescue of the Academy.

36. Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American Nation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), p. 428.

The Church was forced to curtail financial expansion, and the Church University was forced to share physical facilities with LDS College. The panic also seriously affected the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. Acting President Joseph Kingsbury of the University of Utah approached the First Presidency, proposing that the Church forego the establishment of the Church University and allow James E. Talmage to become president of the University of Utah, in which event the latter would become more sympathetic to Church ideas.

On 25 January 1894 Talmage met with the First Presidency and professors Kingsbury and Stewart of the University of Utah. The representatives from the University of Utah urged that the Brethren should discontinue their efforts to promote the Church University and should give their support to the University of Utah. On January 27 President Wilford Woodruff announced that, in the face of the extreme economic crisis, he had decided it would be best to suspend the Church University and transfer Church support and influence to the University of Utah. In the President's opinion, "This would enable the Church to devote more energy to the support of the Stake Academies."³⁷ On February 28 Acting President Kingsbury, in a letter to President Woodruff, reconfirmed his intentions to step down and support Talmage in his stead if the Church would discontinue the Church University.

Both parties were apparently satisfied with the compromise until early in March, when the territorial legislature found itself unable to provide sufficient funds to sustain the University of Utah during the ensuing year. Learning of this, Talmage told the First Presidency that he felt the Church should not disband the Church University until the future of the University of Utah was secure. There would be no purpose in the Church supporting a moribund institution, especially if a proposed consolidation of the University of Utah and the Agricultural College at Logan, with the new school located in Logan, were to take effect.³⁸ If they were to support

37. Journal of James E. Talmage, 29 January 1894.

38. Ibid., 2 March 1894.

a territorial institution, Church leaders wanted it to remain in Salt Lake City. Despite unsettled conditions, the First Presidency decided to give its support to the University of Utah and to suspend indefinitely the Church University. On 10 April 1894 James E. Talmage was unanimously elected president of the University of Utah. On 18 August 1894, at the request of Talmage, the First Presidency gave official notice that the Church University was to be permanently discontinued.³⁹

The stake academies were happy to know that their college work would not be taken over by the Church University, but their fears were renewed when Superintendent Maeser, explaining the reason for the change of Church direction, stated that "the First Presidency and the General Board of Education desire our Church schools to become feeders to the State University and to harmonize their courses of study in conformity with that intention."⁴⁰ Although discontinuance of the Church University solved one problem for Brigham Young Academy, Maeser's announcement created an even greater one. Cluff and even Maeser had been dedicated to Church schooling as opposed to state secular training. Now Maeser seemed to be opting for secular training. Cluff immediately expressed his displeasure and refused to accept assurances of A. O. Smoot that this new Church policy was not intended as a "blow to the BYA," but as a measure to strengthen Church education. Smoot assured the Board that the "Academy is in full operation and is being sustained by the Church and the Saints,"⁴¹ but Principal Cluff feared Brigham Young Academy would lose its place at the head of the Church school system as a potential university in its own right.

Financial Struggle for Survival

For the time being, however, Cluff had too many other things to worry about to devote his time exclusively to prob-

39. General Board Minutes, 18 August 1894.

40. Ibid.

41. Utah Stake Historical Records, 1 September 1894.

lems of Church educational policy. Financial insolvency had become a greater menace than lack of intellectual prestige and academic growth. The severe economic depression of the early 1890s made it impossible to further the growth of stake academies, particularly Brigham Young Academy. The new Academy Building was completed on borrowed money, and the notes began to fall due during Cluff's initial years.

In the past, the burden of keeping the Academy solvent had fallen on A. O. Smoot. He was now in ill health, and the panic had so depleted his own resources that he was unable to come to the rescue. Furthermore, the Salt Lake Temple and the Provo Tabernacle had superseded BYA's financial demands. Utah Stake members were admonished to help fund the Salt Lake Temple, the Provo Tabernacle, and Brigham Young Academy. Unfortunately for the Academy, the priority for contributions was usually given in that order. Stake and ward leaders found the Saints hard-pressed to support the three funds. Bishop George D. Snell of Spanish Fork wrote to President Wilford Woodruff: "We have demands for the completion of the Stake Tabernacle and for support of BYA pressing upon us. . . . We also have to help complete the Temple." He reported that his ward members expressed "a kind feeling" toward Brigham Young Academy, but said "they are unable to contribute to it, and meet their other obligations."⁴²

Unsuccessful Attempt to Incorporate

Early in 1892 the stake presidency made an attempt to have the Church incorporate Brigham Young Academy and assume its financial obligations, but the idea was not approved.⁴³ Unable to solve its financial problems by having

42. Snell to Woodruff, 25 January 1893, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Historical Department.

43. By 7 May 1892 the school's financial affairs were so critical that the Board granted faculty member Hyrum A. Anderson a leave of absence to attend Harvard University and then borrowed \$1200 of his funds "to be remitted him from time to time" during his absence (BYA Board Minutes, 7 May 1892).

the school incorporated, some Board members hoped that real estate to which the Academy had title could be sold to help defray operating costs. Unfortunately, falling real estate prices made this solution untenable. The school then made a direct appeal to Utah County residents for funds. When Dr. Gordy, an eastern educator, visited the school, he was impressed with the Academy, but commented that "what you need now is a good, liberal endowment."⁴⁴ Seconding Dr. Gordy's ideas, *The Normal* gave examples of liberal endowments made by private citizens to other schools, encouraging local citizens to do what they could to foster their Academy. Nothing more than talk followed the editorials.

On May 12, as notes against the school were about to come due, the Board met again to consider the financial plight of the Academy. On motion of Susa Young Gates, Thomas R. Cutler of the Utah Sugar Company and Reed Smoot of the Provo Woolen Mills were appointed to investigate the possibilities of consolidating all outstanding loans into one loan at a low rate of interest.⁴⁵ At the June meeting of the Board, Cutler and Smoot reported that it was impossible to secure such a loan. More loans could simply not be negotiated. The last resort was again to implore the Church for funds. President Abraham O. Smoot, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Thomas R. Cutler, and Joseph D. C. Young were commissioned to present the Academy's financial situation to the First Presidency.

The results of the meeting with the First Presidency were disheartening. Reporting the meeting, President Smoot told his high council that, while Church leaders could sympathize with the problems of the Academy, the Church could in no way help assume its debts at the present time.⁴⁶ By 23 June 1892 the school had a net indebtedness of \$61,107. Board members thought that if the people of Utah Stake would pay off the school's debt, the Church would supply the \$20,000 to \$30,000 annually needed to sustain the school. If the stake

44. *The Normal* 1 (15 April 1892): 1.

45. BYA Board Minutes, 12 May 1892.

46. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 September 1892.

could not pay the school's outstanding debts, President Smoot felt that the Academy would probably be removed from Utah Stake.⁴⁷

In September the Board was shocked to learn that the General Board of Education had allocated only \$3,600 to Brigham Young Academy for the 1892-93 school year.⁴⁸ A separate appropriation of \$5,000 was made to the normal school, but these combined funds of \$7,500 were scarcely adequate to operate the Normal Department alone, and this money could not be used to pay the school's debts. President Smoot again asked the priesthood of the stake to make every effort to help the Academy. He "referred to the strain and pressure which a few men are under financially on account of the BYA building, etc., and felt and hoped that the people would not suffer that school to go down." Bishop George Halliday of American Fork "said that up to the present time he was unable to raise any means for the Academy." The wards in Pleasant Grove, Cedar Valley, and Mapleton had raised "funds for the Temple and Stake Tabernacle but there was nothing done in regards to the BYA."⁴⁹ It appeared that nothing could save the school. Appropriately, the closing song at the Founders Day Celebration of 1892 was "The Sinking Ship."⁵⁰

Seeking Help from the General Board

At the General Board Convention held early in 1893, it was apparent that the financial panic was about to force many Church academies to close. Their future depended on Church support, and their fate seemed sealed when the principals of the Church academies were told there would be no

47. Ibid.

48. General Board Minutes, 9 September 1892. Though meager, this allocation was the highest made to any Church school that year. Brigham Young College in Logan received only \$2,500. The Salt Lake Stake Board of Education was given only \$5,000 to run its entire program.

49. Utah Stake Historical Records, 1 October 1892.

50. "Locals," *The Business Journal* 2 (1 November 1892): 2.

appropriations for the coming year. But A. O. Smoot and the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees requested another conference with the General Board. Smoot, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., and Karl G. Maeser advised the General Board that about \$100,000 would be needed to extricate the Academy from its indebtedness. After carefully considering the matter, the General Board decided that the question should be "referred to the First Presidency of the Church with the recommendation that they do the best they can to preserve the Academy in the interest of Church School Education."⁵¹ Maeser supported the school in a letter to President Woodruff: "In the face of the immense amount of work which this institution is performing for the benefit of the Youth of Zion . . . it is greatly to be lamented that the Board of Trustees of the B. Y. Academy finds itself drifting irresistibly towards financial breakers that threaten a catastrophe too serious in its results as that such a possibility could ever be contemplated with equanimity by any lover of our youth."⁵²

At the 4 March 1893 BYA Board meeting, a committee was appointed to request a loan of tithing funds from the First Presidency to help meet the emergency. Smoot explained to President Woodruff that there was no conceivable way for the school to survive without a special appropriation from the Church. He proposed a \$100,000 loan from the Church "payable monthly in sums of, say \$7,500 up to \$50,000. The balance when required." As an alternative, he suggested a loan of the Utah Stake tithing money "up to the above amount, to be collected and disposed of under the supervision of the Academy."⁵³ Smoot was promised that the Presiding Bishopric of the Church would visit Provo "to further investigate the conditions of the institution."⁵⁴ After the visit of the Presiding Bishopric, Smoot announced that "things look

51. General Board Minutes, 16 December 1892.

52. Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, 7 March 1893, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

53. BYA Board Minutes, 4 March 1893.

54. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 31 March 1893.

favorable for the institution.”⁵⁵ In May, however, the General Board of Education notified all stakes that there was to be no new building started and that where there were enough competent LDS teachers in the district schools there was no real need to establish Church schools.

Threats of Foreclosure

As the summer of 1893 wore on, the financial panic grew worse, and no help came from the Church. In August the notes against the school began to fall due. David John wrote the First Presidency, informing them that a note of \$5,750 needed to be paid. He reported that, under other circumstances, the loan might have been extended, but buying more time in the throes of a nationwide depression seemed hopeless. The First Presidency was later advised that no extension could be given; it was either repay the loan or face foreclosure.

As the school faced financial collapse, some feared that the Catholic Church was going to buy the Academy's property and take over the school's operation.⁵⁶ However, general economic conditions made it impossible for the Catholics or anyone else to buy the school.

In August David John informed Provo Church leaders that the Board of Trustees had exhausted every resource.⁵⁷ The General Board also announced that it would be unable to help the school. James E. Talmage wrote that, “Owing to the present financial distress, which is said to be unparalleled in the history of the country, appropriations for the support of the Church Schools had to be stopped, and in consequence about twenty of such schools were announced as compelled to close for the ensuing year.”⁵⁸ The General Church Board of Education simply had no funds at its disposal to help the foundering Academy.⁵⁹ By early January 1894 Abraham O. Smoot con-

55. Ibid., 5 May 1893.

56. General Board Minutes, 11 August 1893.

57. Utah Stake Historical Records, 5 August 1893.

58. Journal of James E. Talmage, 11 August 1893.

59. Brigham Young Academy was to be notified that the Church would be unable to give it the \$2,000 which had been promised for the

fessed that the circumstances of Brigham Young Academy "weighed very heavily on his mind."⁶⁰

In order to protect his bank and safeguard its stockholders and depositors, A. O. Smoot found it necessary to institute suits against individuals who had borrowed funds to assist Brigham Young Academy. He sued S. S. Jones, prominent Provo businessman and supporter of the Academy. Jones and others had signed notes to help finance the Academy Building with the assurance that these notes would not financially jeopardize the signers.⁶¹ Harvey H. Cluff, who had been Smoot's counselor and who was then presiding over the Hawaiian Colony at Iosepa in Rush Valley, Utah, was also sued by Smoot's bank. He attempted to reconcile the whole affair by writing to Smoot, expressing the "deep feelings of attachment I have always had toward you, that have inspired a reverence beyond common respect and love." He said, "I conjure you Pres. Smoot to drop the matter and let us not impair the fellowship between us."⁶² Smoot decided to have the matter referred to a Church court. Thereupon Smoot's two counselors, David John and Ernest Partridge, requested of President Woodruff that they be released from having to preside in the case as it was too painful to see such friends become temporary enemies because of financial considerations.

These economic hardships seriously weakened the brotherhood of many who supported the Academy, and the future of the school became even more uncertain. Even Maeser feared that "suits pending against the board will be foreclosed." Uncertain of the school's future, he said he "should be perfectly willing to be one of those to be retired from the Board unless Pres. Woodruff should desire me to remain in it."⁶³

purchase of much needed apparatus (General Board Minutes, 11 August 1893).

60. Utah Stake Historical Records, 6 January 1894.

61. S. S. Jones to the First Presidency, 30 November 1894, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

62. Cluff to Smoot, 20 November 1893, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

63. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, 12 December 1894, Karl G.

Death of Abraham O. Smoot

By 1895 most supporters of Brigham Young Academy had given up hope for its survival, but A. O. Smoot persisted in his attempts to gain Church financial support for the institution. Although in very poor health, he went to Salt Lake City in February to ask the General Authorities to rescue the school. He received “considerable assurance that something would be done soon to relieve the financial embarrassments that were weighing heavily in the interests of the B. Y. Academy.”⁶⁴ Two and one-half weeks later, on March 6, Smoot passed away. His trip to Salt Lake had been made during his terminal illness. There can be little doubt that the trying circumstances of the Academy during his last five years contributed to his passing.

To many faithful supporters of Brigham Young Academy, the death of A. O. Smoot signified the end of an era. George H. Brimhall said that his death “was about the darkest hour in our history.”⁶⁵ No other man could attempt to take his place. Smoot had defended Academy procedures, his iron will had saved the institution a number of times, and Superintendent Maeser had relied on Smoot to perpetuate what he and others had started almost twenty years before. Benjamin Cluff knew he would have Smoot’s support when he argued the interest of the Academy in Salt Lake City. At his death, Smoot was heavily in debt for endorsing loans made to support the school. Succeeding stake presidents and civil leaders were never able to match Abraham O. Smoot’s influence in community and educational affairs.

Financial problems accelerated after Smoot’s death. The Academy Building would have to be sold unless the mortgage could be paid immediately, and some speculated that it would be bought by the Catholics. Attempting to buoy disheartened spirits, George H. Brimhall told the faculty that the school had survived problems before and predicted that, through faith and prayer, the present obstacles would be removed. He said

Maeser Papers.

64. Journal of Edward Partridge, 20 February 1895, Church Historical Department.

65. See Alice Louise Reynolds Papers, BYU Archives.

that “the time will come when the cry will not be where shall we get the money, but how shall we use the money that we have.”⁶⁶ At their 20 March 1895 meeting, David John reminded the Board that the First Presidency had promised that “help would be granted as soon as possible.” Reed Smoot and T. R. Cutler were assigned to ask the First Presidency for an appropriation of tithes for 1895 “that thereby we may place the Academy upon a secure footing.”⁶⁷ In June Smoot and Cutler were able to report that “the Trustee in Trust would endorse all the notes of the Academy now bearing the endorsement of Pres. A. O. Smoot and would provide for the early payment of some of the expired notes. The property of the Academy to be held intact as security.”⁶⁸

Brigham Young, Jr., Named President of the Board

With conditions still precarious, the Board needed to choose a strong successor to A. O. Smoot. At the May 22 meeting, Elder Brigham Young, Jr., was selected to be president of the Board of Trustees, probably because he was the most influential of Brigham Young’s heirs. However, coming to the position advanced in age and feeble in health, Brigham Young, Jr., never did become fully involved in Brigham Young Academy affairs. His own children attended Brigham Young College in Logan. Advocating financial retrenchment until times improved, he at once alienated President Cluff. In June 1895, when the Church allocated \$15,000 to the school, President Young characterized the Church assistance as temporary. He believed that the “college business should be administered more economically. Church donation of \$15,000 cannot be relied upon in future years unless their finances improve. God knows how the matter will end.” He also felt it was “necessary that we have more of the Gospel spirit in our school, too worldly in some things.”⁶⁹

66. BYU Faculty Papers, 23 May 1895, BYU Archives.

67. BYA Board Minutes, 20 March 1895.

68. *Ibid.*, 3 June 1895.

69. Journal of Brigham Young, Jr., 9 June 1895, Church Historical Department.



Brigham Young, Jr.,
president of the Board of
Trustees of Brigham
Young Academy
from 1895 to 1897

In July 1895 Cluff's title was changed from principal to president.⁷⁰ He was intent on focusing the academic organization of the school to admit more advanced work. Brigham Young, Jr., grew increasingly concerned about Benjamin Cluff's vigorous policies, fearing that the Academy "was departing from the spirit of the founder."⁷¹ Others apparently concurred that "the institution was running at high pressure."⁷² Small matters, such as the institution of "Academy yells," became the occasion for heated, strong-willed debates which tended to demoralize both faculty and administration. Cluff found himself at odds with several influential leaders in the Church, and damaging confrontations were prevented only through the efforts of Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon. In 1896 an uneasy peace was established on the Board of Trustees, and the Board turned its attention to pressing administrative issues.

George Q. Cannon suggested that "an appeal be made to patriotic public and the wealthy persons in our community especially for the establishing of various Chairs of the Institution."⁷³ After working five weeks on President Cannon's suggestion, Brigham Young, Jr., gave Cluff a disheartening report of the subscription campaign:

I have canvassed the appropriation business and am forced to the conclusion that we may not look for aid from the Church financially for some time. I have not the heart to ask the First Presidency; under the circumstances, to advance a dollar beyond what they are doing. My mind is that we look the thing squarely in the face and trim our sails accordingly. True, the time is not far distant when we may enlarge our institution to the satisfaction of all concerned.

My desire is strong to make the Academy all it was intended to be by the founder, but now I know that we must retrench for a season, or else the Brigham Young

70. BYA Board Minutes, 20 July 1895.

71. Journal of Brigham Young, Jr., 5 November 1896.

72. Ibid., 7 July 1895.

73. BYA Board Minutes, 24 January 1896.

Academy will suffer loss of prestige and financial credit.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, conflicts among Board members and financial difficulties did not perturb the successful operation of the school. Cluff's abilities as an administrator were clearly demonstrated in increased enrollment, vigorous academic programs, and in the school's growing reputation. In his report for 1895-96, he said that the year had "been one of the most successful in the history of our school. The future, too, as we now view it is full of bright promises and encouraging signs, which with the blessings of God, blessings such as the Academy has always enjoyed, and with the united efforts of the Board, the Faculty and the students the aims [a]nd desires of the great founder, Prest. Brigham Young, will be fully realized."⁷⁵

Incorporation of Brigham Young Academy

In the mind of Benjamin Cluff, the only real solution to the Academy's financial problems was incorporation by the Church. He wrote that "one evening while returning from a walk down town and while studying deeply over the future of the Academy, the thought came to me like an inspiration: 'give the school to the Church.' Immediately my mind was at rest. I knew that it was the right thing to do."⁷⁶ Although this same suggestion had been made and rejected a number of times in the past, the Board of Trustees succeeded in obtaining permission to incorporate the school on 18 July 1896. After reaffirming the 1875 charter, the Articles of Incorporation noted that the Academy was "financially embarrassed and has no means whatever save and except the property conveyed by Brigham Young." The Trustees were unable to meet the indebtedness "or to further continue or maintain" the Academy. "Since the First Presidency are willing to assume

74. Young to Cluff, 6 February 1896, Benjamin Cluff Presidential Papers, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Cluff Presidential Papers).

75. "President's Report," 21 May 1896, BYU Archives.

76. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 84-85.

such indebtedness,” the Trustees “do now proceed to take the necessary steps for the incorporation” of “Brigham Young Academy.” The incorporators, all of whom were members of the new Board of Trustees, were Brigham Young, Jr. (Salt Lake City), George Q. Cannon (Salt Lake City), Myron Tanner (Provo), Harvey H. Cluff (Provo), Wilson H. Dusenberry (Provo), Karl G. Maeser (Provo), David John (Provo), Susa Young Gates (Provo), Reed Smoot (Provo), Thomas R. Cutler (Lehi), George D. Snell (Spanish Fork), and Joseph Don Carlos Young (Salt Lake City).⁷⁷

The Articles of Incorporation provided that

the object of this corporation is to establish and maintain a college or school of learning in which the youths of both sexes who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are to be instructed; provided, however, that the trustees of this institution may allow under certain rules and regulations children not belonging to said Church to attend; but this provision shall not be deemed obligatory upon them, nor shall children of other religious denominations other than the above named have an inherent or vested right to enjoy the benefits of this trust. And the general formula of education in the principles to be taught shall be as set forth in the rules, regulations and by laws made by the Board of Directors from time to time hereafter, provided that in addition to the usual education given in an institution of like character the Old and New Testament, the Book of Mormon and The Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in such college; and the students therein, physical ability permitting, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to their taste and capacity.

The provision permitting children not belonging to the Mormon Church to attend the school was an extension of the original Deed of Trust drawn up in 1875. For some years non-Mormon children had been allowed to attend the school,

77. Ibid.

and by 1895 two non-Mormon faculty members had been employed.

The Articles explained that

members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, acting collectively at their General Conference, or through their representatives, to wit: The First Presidency of said Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, are the persons regarded as members or stock holders of said corporation, although no stock shall be issued, and as the source of authority and power for the selection of the officers of this corporation; and said members of said Church or the representatives of said members of said Church, to wit, the First Presidency thereof shall on the 6th day of April, beginning with the year 1897, and tri-annually thereafter elect the directors of this corporation.

The articles also provided that at least three of the twelve directors must be descendants of Brigham Young. Descendants of Brigham Young on the first Board were Brigham Young, Jr., who also was elected president, Susa Young Gates, and Joseph D. C. Young.⁷⁸ Principal Cluff thought Brigham Young, Jr., was inimical to nearly all interests of the Academy, but it was during Young's administration as president of the Board that incorporation was accomplished.

While operation of the school was to continue the same, the Articles of Incorporation insured that the Church would now have primary financial responsibility for Brigham Young Academy. Karl G. Maeser congratulated President Cluff that his "proposition to the First Presidency has been accepted and that the BYA will pass entirely into the hands of the Church."⁷⁹ George Reynolds assured President Cluff that "it appears to be the understanding of the First Presidency that the Church will supply the funds for the running expenses of the Academy by appropriations made by them direct to the

78. See Appendix for a complete copy of the Articles of Incorporation.

79. Cluff Presidential Papers, 1896.

Academy and not through the Church Board of Education.”⁸⁰

When new members of the Board of Trustees were to be elected in April 1897, Cluff, with faculty support, submitted the names of a number of prominent businessmen, lawyers, ranchers, and educators whom he hoped would be strong supporters of the school.⁸¹ The new Board was sustained in April 1897 General Conference. At the first meeting of the Board in August, George Q. Cannon was elected president. David John was elected vice-president. The Executive Committee was composed of Reed Smoot, Thomas Cutler, and Wilson Dusenberry.⁸² President Cluff now had a Board of his own choosing. George Q. Cannon had been very friendly to him, and David John was his father-in-law.

Founding of the Beaver Branch

With its official incorporation by the LDS Church, Brigham Young Academy began to expand its sphere of influence. In 1898 the Beaver Stake Academy merged with BYA, and in September of that year opened as the Beaver Branch of Brigham Young Academy.⁸³ The site of the school, old Fort Cameron, worth between \$25,000 and \$30,000, was acquired

80. George Reynolds to Benjamin Cluff, 11 September 1896, Cluff Presidential Papers.

81. Candidates on the list submitted by Cluff and BYA faculty members were Stephen L. Chipman, George Q. Cannon, David John, Reed Smoot, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Brigham Young, Jr., or Zina Young Card, Don C. Young, W. W. Cluff, John M. Cannon, Charles L. Anderson, William H. Seegmiller or T. C. Callister, Susa Young Gates, Karl G. Maeser, J. Golden Kimball, Thomas R. Cutler, William H. King, Hiram R. Clawson, and Edward Partridge (Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Wilford Woodruff, 22 March 1897, Wilford Woodruff Papers). The following, all of whom appear on Cluff's list, were sustained as members of the new Board: Wilson H. Dusenberry, Joseph Don Carlos Young, Karl G. Maeser, David John, Thomas Cutler, Susa Young Gates, Brigham Young, Jr., George Q. Cannon, Reed Smoot, Edward Partridge, Stephen L. Chipman, and William H. Seegmiller.

82. BYA Board Minutes, 2 August 1897.

83. For further discussion of the Beaver Branch, *see* Roberta Ann Barber, “Beaver Stake Academy and the Beaver Branch of the Brigham Young Academy,” history research paper in BYU Archives.

“mainly through the gift of John R. Murdock and P. T. Farnsworth. A system of three reservoir sites of sufficient capacity to irrigate all the lands, and valued at three thousand dollars, was donated by A. Kent Farnsworth.” The citizens of Beaver County “re-shingled and fitted up for school purposes all the buildings, and pledged themselves to donate twelve hundred dollars a year during ten years for school maintenance.” Appropriations from Provo, together with receipts from houses rented to students, amounted to an income “sufficient for the establishment of a first-class high school.”⁸⁴

Preparations were made for dedication of the facilities at Fort Cameron to take place on 26 September 1898. At the dedication, “Apostles [F. M.] Lyman and [George] Teasdale officiated, the former acting as mouth in the ritual, and the latter offering a prayer. . . . More than one thousand people were present.”⁸⁵ Dr. Maeser and President Cluff helped register pupils the following day, and “twenty-eight students were enrolled for the opening session of the new school.”⁸⁶

The faculty included teachers already in Beaver and teachers from the parent Academy in Provo. Ernest DeAlton Partridge, grandson of Edward Partridge, the first bishop of the Church, was made principal of the Beaver Branch.⁸⁷ Professor Partridge had graduated from Brigham Young Academy and had then gone east to college. From “1892 to 1896 he studied in Michigan Agricultural College, and graduated with the degree of B. S. He was a favorite athlete, and won seven gold medals for racing, etc. He was also honored at graduation by being chosen to deliver the commencement oration.”⁸⁸ While in Michigan, Partridge met and married Elizabeth Truman. When they returned to Utah in

84. *Circular of the Beaver Branch of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1899-1900, p. 4.

85. Roberts and Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff, Jr.,” p. 81.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

87. Dedicatory Program, William H. Snell Industrial Education Building, 13 April 1960, on file in BYU Archives, p. 10.

88. Susa Young Gates, “Ernest DeAlton Partridge,” *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 14 (July 1923): 118.



Ernest DeAlton Partridge, first principal of the Beaver Branch of Brigham Young Academy. Partridge was a grandson of Edward Partridge, first bishop in the LDS Church.



Main building of Beaver Branch
of Brigham Young Academy.

Buildings at old Fort Cameron
used as residence halls for
students at the Beaver Branch.

1896, the Partridges settled in Provo to teach at the Academy. During his second year at the school he was asked to head the Beaver Branch. Partridge served as principal in Beaver for three years, after which he returned to Provo to teach.

Reinhard Maeser taught English and the theory of teaching. Cluff's second wife, Harriet Cullimore Cluff, was the school's matron.⁸⁹ Edward P. Kimball taught music, and Mary J. Ollerton taught "English and preparatory subjects."⁹⁰ The circular mentioned no instructor in the Mechanics Department. Freda Barnum supervised the library with the assistance of two townswomen, and Duckworth Grimshawl, an English-born pioneer of Beaver, taught a theology class.⁹¹

In a letter dated 10 October 1898, Professor Partridge wrote President Cluff, "Our school is doing as well as we can expect. There are 54 enrolled, and 10 in the Primary Dep't, with about six others who will enroll this week. I think that by the end of the week we will have not less than 75."⁹² On November 22 President Cluff wrote Professor Maeser, "Our school at Beaver is doing excellent work. The enrollment when I left, somewhat over a week ago, was 102. A later word from Brother Partridge informs me that students are still coming in, so that they are crowded for room."⁹³

The course of study prescribed by the Beaver Branch in 1898 was designed to be completed in two years. From the first, however, Principal Partridge "designate[d] the students as Freshmen, Juniors, and Seniors."⁹⁴ The school met the needs of its increased enrollment by expanding the curriculum. In the fall of 1898 Principal Partridge wrote, "Students generally are very good. A little too much running to

89. Cluff married his second wife on 17 December 1886.

90. *Circular of the Beaver Branch of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1899-1900.

91. Ernest D. Partridge to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 6 October 1898, Cluff Presidential Papers.

92. Partridge to Cluff, 10 October 1898, Cluff Presidential Papers.

93. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Karl G. Maeser, 22 November 1898, Cluff Presidential Papers.

94. Partridge to Cluff, 26 August 1898, Cluff Presidential Papers.

town.”⁹⁵ The next spring he reported, “The school year is going on all right. We have the occasional stir but they are becoming less frequent.”⁹⁶ By that time enrollment had climbed to 160.⁹⁷

As was true in Provo when the Academy began, the Beaver Branch had problems with the rougher students and townspeople, but Principal Partridge knew how to handle them. On 25 November 1899 he wrote Cluff, “We had our regular ball last night. It was successful. There was a plot arranged in town yesterday among the toughs and the suspended students to come out and ride me around the campus on a rail. It became so public that the marshal came up to notify me and to see that all was well. The fellows were there but I did not get my ride. I refused admittance to two of them and publicly asked all who had been drinking or smoking to leave and two more left.”⁹⁸

Enrollment continued to increase. Two hundred and fifteen students registered for the term begun in January 1900.⁹⁹ Enrollment in the Academy at Provo during that time was between two and three times greater than at the Beaver Branch.¹⁰⁰ In the spring of 1900 Principal Partridge requested a leave of absence for further study at Michigan Agricultural College.¹⁰¹ No one was found to replace him, and Professor Partridge continued as principal and teacher during the 1900-1901 school year. President Cluff instructed teachers in Beaver that they were “to teach in the Beaver Summer School without pay. The school, however, to pay expenses. We must claim the time of all teachers who are engaged by the year, when that time is necessary for the good

95. Partridge to Cluff, 6 October 1898, Cluff Presidential Papers.

96. Partridge to Cluff, 6 March 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

97. Partridge to Cluff, 20 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

98. Partridge to Cluff, 25 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

99. Partridge to Cluff, 17 January 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

100. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 4 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

101. Partridge to Cluff, 12 February 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.



George Q. Cannon, president
of the Brigham Young Academy Board
of Trustees from 1897 to 1901.

of the school. The complete success of the Summer School is now essential to the best interests of the Academy as a whole. None, I think, will hesitate to respond to your call or rather respond to the call of the printed circular."¹⁰²

By the turn of the century Brigham Young Academy had assumed such a prominent role in Church education that other schools desired to become branches of the Academy. In April 1900 the General Church Board of Education in Salt Lake City received a letter from President Reuben Miller of Emery Stake requesting "to have the Emery Stake Academy become a Branch of the Brigham Young Academy at Provo."¹⁰³ The request was either denied or not acted upon. Cluff also recommended a branch at Tocquerville, but nothing came of his proposal.¹⁰⁴ Though the Beaver school remained its only branch, Brigham Young Academy confidently entered the twentieth century on relatively secure financial footing. The Beaver Branch continued as a part of the Academy until 1908, when it separated from the parent school and became the Murdock Academy, one of many LDS Church schools.

By 1900 financial problems and administrative conflicts of the 1890s seemed resolved, and Brigham Young Academy, incorporated as an official school of the LDS Church, entered the new century anticipating growth, development, and academic success.

102. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 24 April 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

103. Reuben G. Miller to General Church Board of Education, 3 April 1900, General Board Papers, Church Historical Department.

104. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 82.

9

Academic Dimensions: 1890-1900

Economic discouragement, which had been such a part of faculty life during the Maeser years, continued through Cluff's administration. Salaries were low, and the future of the school was uncertain. Nevertheless, the faculty remained undaunted, and their faith in the future of Brigham Young Academy contributed substantially to the school's success. Though some faculty members initially opposed Benjamin Cluff's exuberant new approaches to teaching, they soon gave their confidence and support to the new principal.

President Cluff, like Principal Maeser, had abiding interest in faculty performance, and he established a high standard of faculty excellence. Cluff advised Acting Principal George Brimhall in November 1893 that Academy teachers should "turn their attention gradually to more thoroughness."¹ More than ever before, the teachers needed "to throw their whole power and time into their work, not excitedly, nor with boisterous enthusiasm but with cool steady earnestness and with

1. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall from Ann Arbor, Michigan, 5 November 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers. Cluff had received permission from Church leaders to return to Ann Arbor and finish his master's degree in the fall of 1893.

an eye single to the proper accomplishments of their duties.”² Cluff felt that Academy teachers should “have the student’s welfare in mind at all times.”³ While demanding rigorous student preparation, he hoped that teachers did not “require too much of the students. It is a very easy matter to be too exacting in the preparations of subjects, thus, not only making the study a ‘grind’ but actually interfering with the students individually.”⁴ The *White and Blue* of 15 April 1898 eulogized Cluff’s ability to relate to faculty members and inspire teaching excellence:

Though an excellent class teacher, President Cluff excels in the ability to select and draw around him great teachers, and to place these where they can do the best work. While requiring the strictest conformity in matters affecting the unity and autonomy of the institution, he gives the utmost freedom to the teachers in the detail work of their departments. He is thereby able to unify the different methods and still preserve the teacher’s individuality. As a result perfect harmony exists in the Faculty, and the Academy has become one of the leading, if not the leading, institutions of learning in Zion.

Recruiting Teachers

In his struggle to build a superior faculty, Cluff had difficulty finding the money to pay well qualified teachers. In 1894 John A. Widtsoe applied to teach at Provo, telling President Cluff that Brigham Young Academy was his first choice. Widtsoe later informed Cluff that he was forced to accept an offer from Brigham Young College in Logan because of differences in the payment of salary. Both schools offered \$1,200 per year, but the BYA salary was to be \$900 cash and \$300 tithing scrip, whereas BYC would pay him \$1,200 cash. Widtsoe explained that at any other time in his life the \$300 would not have been a factor in his decision, but he had a large

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2. Cluff to Brimhall, 27 December 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers.
 3. Records of the Brigham Young Academy Fourth Domestic Ward, 4 November 1897, BYU Archives.
 4. Cluff to Brimhall, 5 November 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers.

cash debt and had to go to the institution that could best help him alleviate it.⁵

The fear of delayed or curtailed salaries was a constant problem. Struggling to build the school academically, Cluff did not want to have to worry about faculty salaries. In a letter to Brimhall written from Ann Arbor, he said, “We cannot run a school and have to sacrifice the scholastic to the financial question. The further development of the school demands that this financial question so far as the teachers are concerned be settled. Should I continue in the Academy I do not want to spend my time on financial questions. I have all I can do with the help of every member of the faculty to raise the school to its proper scholastic standing. When I get home, therefore, the financial question will take my attention and I hope will be settled once for all.”⁶ Though Cluff never did settle the financial question “once for all,” he nevertheless worked to improve faculty conditions.

Mission Calls for Teachers

A few faculty members left the school for financial reasons, but many more were called away on Church assignments. Mission calls took faculty members for indefinite periods of time. Emil Maeser resigned in 1894 to accept a mission call. In his letter of resignation, he said that “while my labors have been exceedingly pleasant, and I have formed my dear associations from which I am loath to part, still I feel like obliging the call of God, to go forth and preach the Gospel to the nations of the earth.”⁷ Cluff approved of Church service, but, with a limited faculty, vacancies created by mission calls were not easy to fill. Substitutes also had to be found to replace prominent faculty members who were frequently called to

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5. John A. Widtsoe to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 15 April 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers. The fact that Widtsoe had been reared in Logan and that his mother lived there may also have entered into his decision to teach at BYC.
 6. Cluff to Brimhall, 7 January 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers.
 7. Emil Maeser to George H. Brimhall, 23 March 1894, George H. Brimhall Papers, BYU Archives.

make trips through Utah, Idaho, and Arizona on Church business. Susa Young Gates, for instance, who was both a Trustee and a faculty member, wrote from Idaho in 1897 to inform Cluff that, because of Church responsibilities, she would not be able to return to perform her teaching assignments.⁸

Employment of Non-Mormon Teachers

In 1894, after his second return from Ann Arbor, Cluff tried to bring an eastern professor to the school. This caused Maeser no small degree of consternation, and he took the matter to George Reynolds, secretary to the First Presidency of the Church, and to the General Board, arguing that employment of non-Mormon teachers was contrary to the spirit of the Academy. Cluff, however, wrote directly to President Woodruff that "the engagement of the eastern teacher is but temporary and preparatory to the thorough qualification of our own students as training teachers."⁹ Though Cluff was allowed to employ this and other non-Mormon teachers on a temporary basis, he was seldom unopposed. Board president Brigham Young, Jr., once wrote in his diary: "Bro. B. Cluff Jr., discussed employing gentile professor in BYA Provo. I opposed it; Presidency voted unanimously to employ him as Geology and Civil Engineering were two most important studies, and we have no Latter-day Saint who can fill the position. I quoted from Deed of Trust: all beneficiaries of this Academy must be children of LDS. Shall we employ gentiles to teach them?"¹⁰

In 1897, over the vehement protest of Maeser and Brigham Young, Jr., Cluff obtained special permission to employ three more non-Mormon teachers to serve in departments where there were no competent LDS teachers.¹¹ Gradually, as the

8. Gates to Cluff, 31 August 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

9. Cluff to Woodruff, 8 August 1894, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

10. Journal of Brigham Young, Jr., 31 July 1896, Church Historical Department.

11. General Board Minutes, 12 October 1896.

benefits of Cluff's policy became apparent, employment of non-Mormon teachers became accepted on a limited basis.¹² In 1903 President Joseph F. Smith himself encouraged the hiring of a non-Mormon. The teacher, a daughter of Dr. Young at the University of Michigan, was much needed, and President Smith felt it would be a mistake for Cluff to "let her pass out of your reach."¹³

Abbey Celeste Hale, a niece of Edward Everett Hale (author of "A Man Without a Country" and chaplain to the U. S. Senate), was employed in the Primary Department during the mid-1890s. When Abbey Hale left the school in 1897 she wrote President Cluff that "the Academy and Utah seem too much like home to me to be given up unregretfully. I have enjoyed my work there very much and it will always be a pleasure to me to remember the cordiality and kindness given to the stranger within your gates."¹⁴

Recruiting Mormon Teachers

Another problem Cluff had to face in his struggle to improve the faculty was the difficulty of hiring competent Mormon teachers who had left Brigham Young Academy and had gone to prestigious universities for advanced training. Maeser opposed the recruitment of such teachers, fearing that their faith may have been weakened by their eastern experience, but Cluff continued to search for qualified people to teach at the Academy. Despite all his discouragements, Cluff managed to increase the faculty. When he became assistant principal in 1890, there were fourteen faculty members. When he left in 1903, the number had swelled to sixty.¹⁵

Besides increasing the size of the faculty, Cluff maintained a high standard of teaching. BYA rallied "all its forces around one central purpose, that of becoming a normal college un-

12. Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 305.

13. Smith to Cluff, 4 February 1903, Cluff Presidential Papers.

14. Hale to Cluff, 6 April 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

15. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 88.

surpassed by any institution." In 1894 six new teachers, graduates of Michigan and Harvard, were added to the faculty. The *Desert News* estimated that "of the fifteen hundred teachers in the Territory, it is perhaps safe to say a majority have received their education at the Brigham Young Academy, and hundreds will pass into active life in this and other fields each year."¹⁶ After a visit to the Academy in 1902, Joseph M. Tanner, Church commissioner of education, reported that Brigham Young Academy had more advanced studies than any other school in the Church school system.¹⁷

Curriculum under Cluff

The academic structure of Brigham Young Academy did not change much during Cluff's administration. By 1899 the Academy was organized into the following departments:

1. A Kindergarten, including a Kindergarten Training School.
2. A Primary School consisting of the eight grades of the common schools.
3. A High School, covering four years' work, and offering two courses; one a preparatory normal course; the other a preparatory collegiate course.
4. A Collegiate Department, covering four years' work, beginning with the twelfth grade (the last year of high school and the first year of college being parallel), including the Normal Training School of three years' work.
5. A Commercial College, beginning at the close of the Primary School and covering three years' work.¹⁸

Cluff strengthened the entire curriculum. He liked to refer to his administrative period as the "New Epoch," which stressed academic excellence above all else. Evaluating the Academy under Maeser, Cluff wrote in the 1896-97 school catalog that

16. "A School with a Mission," *Deseret News*, 20 September 1894.

17. General Board Minutes, 30 April 1902.

18. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1899-1900, pp. 9-10.

although the school had grown steadily until at times its enrollment reached over five hundred, and its power for good was felt in the same ratio, certain educational evils were inevitable from the cramped conditions under which the work was carried on. Previous to 1891, no attempt had been, nor indeed could be, made to arrange courses in higher branches to last for more than one year, save in theory of teaching which had been laid out for two years. The instruction was thus bound to be very general and as a consequence more or less superficial.

Though he paid appropriate homage to Professor Maeser's "peculiar power of arousing independent investigation," Cluff felt "compelled to recognize the deplorable fact that from very many district schools, the fruits of those hurried in Normal courses come back to us today in the shape of students poorly equipped in elementary studies."¹⁹

Cluff improved the school's program by separating less academic courses, such as the commercial course and the new mechanic arts course, from the general curriculum. Teacher-training courses were lengthened from two to four and eventually to six years. His plan was to intensify the learning experience, following the motto, "Learn to do by doing."

Changes in the pedagogical course clearly reflected the influence of Cluff's university training. Each year's work was "systematically laid out in six special divisions."²⁰ Recitations were lengthened from half an hour to a full hour in order to limit "the state of mental congestion which results from taking too many studies at once."²¹ Cluff instituted courses in educational psychology and supplemented them with logic classes. For advanced students, he established a number of classes based on readings in philosophy and psychology. Students were required to read extensively and to write publishable papers.

19. Ibid., 1896-97, p. 8.

20. "Editorials," *The Normal* 1 (18 December 1891): 1.

21. "Editorials," *The Normal* 1 (13 November 1891): 1.



President Benjamin Cluff, Jr.,
addressing a theory of
teaching class in the Academy
Building around 1898.

Cluff emphasized the importance of freedom in education. Under his direction, students established *The Normal*, "a journal of instruction for young teachers,"²² and *The Business Journal*. Student editors did most of the writing, though faculty members assisted with articles and stories. These student magazines became important vehicles for discussing and disseminating educational concepts throughout the state.

Early student magazines exhibited singular academic earnestness. Besides helping to train normal students, they provided an academic forum for the whole school. In 1894 *The Normal* became *The Journal of Pedagogy*, "published monthly under the auspices of the department of experimental pedagogy."²³ Student journals were expensive to print, and financial difficulties led to their demise after only a few years, but their position as the state's leading academic magazines broadened the influence of the Academy while they were being published.

To improve the quality of students entering the Academy, Cluff devised a system of "certificate schools" in 1892. These schools, whose principals were aware of the requirements for admission to Brigham Young Academy and whose academic standards were approved by Principal Cluff, were allowed to enroll their graduating students in the Academy without examination. These schools furnished most of the Academy's teacher-training students.

Normal Training School

One of Cluff's most urgent programs was the establishment of a Normal Training School. He advocated that until the supply of qualified teachers could meet the territorial demand free tuition should be offered to students interested in teaching. The advantage, Cluff maintained, would be "better qualified teachers." With high quality Mormon-trained teachers, there would be "no need to hire outsiders in Mormon schools." Moreover, Mormon schools would "be under a

22. *The Normal* 1 (15 October 1891).

23. *The Journal of Pedagogy* 1 (1 December 1894).

uniform method of teaching, making out reports," and keeping records.²⁴ With the support of President Smoot and Superintendent Maeser, and with the new Academy Building to house the Normal Department, Cluff persuaded the General Board to establish the Normal Training School. In November 1891 the General Board authorized a special budget of \$5,000 to cover the cost of free tuition for normal students.²⁵

Student teachers needed a controlled teaching experience, which was impossible to obtain in the Maeser school because of overcrowding. Therefore, in 1896 the primary grades were removed from the crowded Academy Building and housed in the Central Building, located on the southeast corner of First North and Academy (now University) Avenue. Student teachers in the Training School, supervised by the professor of the theory of teaching, assisted as "critic teachers." Second year normal students were required to "organize the schools, conduct the classes and perform all the duties of actual teachers."²⁶ Each day was divided into two and one-half hours of practice teaching followed by an hour and a half of criticism.

The new Normal Training School provided excellent teachers to the region. Able to apply teaching principles as they learned them, Brigham Young Academy normal students entered the teaching profession with a reservoir of practical experience. As the reputation of the new Training School spread throughout the Intermountain West, enrollment in the Normal Department of the Academy gradually increased.

High School and Collegiate Courses

High school studies were rigidly outlined for every semes-

24. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Karl G. Maeser, 4 June 1891, Church Schools Uncatalogued Letters, Church Historical Department.

25. Utah Stake Presidency to Wilford Woodruff, 29 October 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers; George Reynolds to A. O. Smoot and W. H. Dusenberry, 11 November 1891, Abraham O. Smoot Papers, BYU Library.

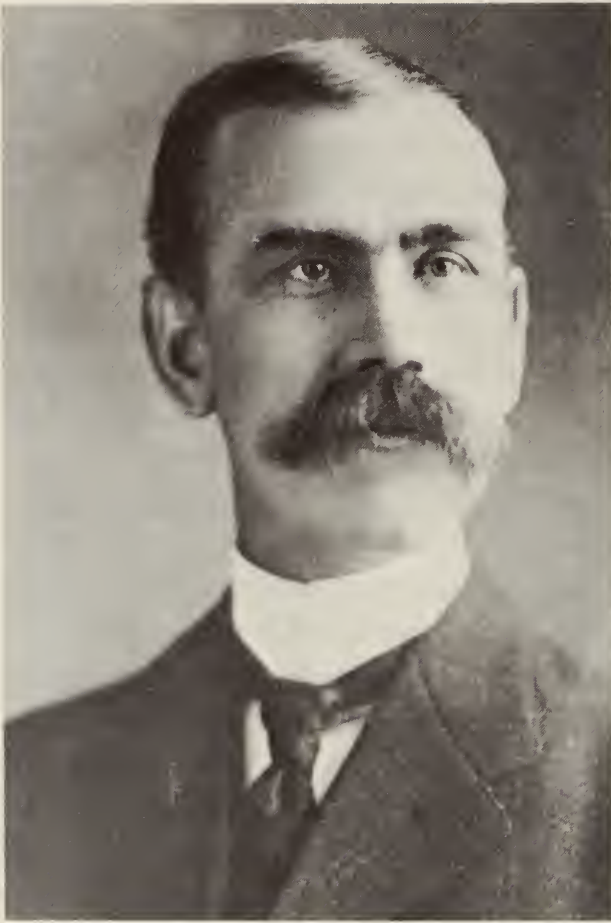
26. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1893-94.

ter of every year. Substitution of courses could be made only with permission of the faculty. High school and college courses were listed together in the Academy's circular. High school courses were designated by letters (A, B, C), while collegiate courses were listed by number (1, 2, 3). There were about as many college courses as high school classes, but more students enrolled in the high school classes. Greek and philosophy were taught as college courses, while domestic science, commercial classes, Spanish, and ethics were taught only on the high school level. Other classes were likely to contain both high school and college students.²⁷

The Collegiate Department was officially established during the fall of 1896 in connection with the Founders Day celebration. Cluff had conducted college-level courses since 1892 when he became principal; so the Collegiate Department represented the extension of established procedure rather than the implementation of an entirely new program. Collegiate Department graduates were granted the bachelor's degree in pedagogy with emphasis in pedagogy, general science, language and literature, or philosophy. Students who specialized in pedagogy had to earn 108 hours of credit, while students in the other areas needed 136 hours. Cluff encouraged students who were planning to teach to specialize in an area that interested them, with no particular stress on the study of pedagogy. The school's curriculum, however, was strongest in pedagogy.

With the help of George Brimhall and Nels L. Nelson, Cluff established a rigorous pedagogical course, but his attempts to recruit qualified scientists were not successful. George F. Phillips, who joined the faculty in the 1892-93 school year, worked with the Academy for only one year. Advanced students and graduates of the Academy taught most of the scientific courses. Appeals were made to prominent Mormon families to fund and support laboratories for scientific research and teaching. The Holt Laboratory of Physics and the

27. For further discussion of class schedules and the overall mechanics of each class, see *The Young Woman's Journal*, 3 (1892), and Brigham Young Academy circulars issued during Cluff's administration.



Reed Smoot,
who took charge
of raising funds
for the construction
of College Hall.

College Hall, dedicated
in 1898, located
directly behind the
Academy Building.



Magleby Laboratory of Chemistry were founded in 1899. The Beckstead Laboratory of Mechanics was founded in 1898, and the Hinckley Laboratory of Science was founded in 1900. Walter M. Wolfe of Williams College directed the work in the natural sciences. He also taught the classical course, which included Greek and Latin. Modern languages were taught by Moses C. Davis, an undergraduate from Harvard, and by A. C. Lund. Lund and Henry Giles taught music classes.

College Hall

With Cluff's increasing interest in higher education, facilities for upper division students became cramped. Cluff desired a college facility. When the Church was unable to respond, he made a direct appeal to the Board of Trustees. Reed Smoot pledged \$1,000 and offered to secure a contribution of \$1,000 from each of ten individuals.²⁸ The new building was outfitted by the alumni association and the faculty, who were asked to use part of their vacation time to assist in raising funds. College Hall was dedicated in May 1898. With the lower division students in the Central Building and a few nonacademic classes in the Probert Building west of campus, the high school and college students were housed in the Academy Building and College Hall. The commercial courses occupied much of the space on the main floor of the Academy Building, while scientific courses were conducted in the basement. Even with the addition of College Hall, Academy facilities became cramped as high school enrollment increased.

Proposed Law School

For some years John E. Booth offered courses in law and civil government at the Academy. The class proved to be very

28. Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph Fielding Smith, Reed Smoot, Jesse Knight, Charles E. Loose, Alfred William McCune, Amanda Inez Knight, Stephen L. Chipman, and J. William Knight were the donors (Ephraim Hatch, "History of BYU Campus and Department of Physical Plant," BYU Archives, 2:16).

popular among students, who often discussed law and current events in Polysophical Society meetings. In 1897 Benjamin Cluff received a letter from J. Whitely, a teacher of civics and public law at the University of Utah who had been successful in preparing a number of students for law schools in the East. He desired to establish a school of law in Utah. Blocked in his attempts to establish a law school at the University of Utah, he proposed a law course at Provo as "a branch of the Academy."²⁹ Whitely suggested courses in jurisprudence, Roman law, general civics, American and English constitutional history, and Latin. When Cluff made no formal commitment to the law course, Professor Whitely decided to establish a law school in Salt Lake City. He confided to President Cluff that "for many reasons I should have liked Provo,"³⁰ but the Academy had not shown enough interest in a law school.

Two years later a Mr. Saxen of Provo approached Cluff, requesting an opportunity to inaugurate a law school, promising that "at a nominal salary of \$600, per year, I would agree to take it for three years, and donate a law library of 200 volumes. I think I could give a course that would admit the students to the bar in two years."³¹ Saxen's suggestion was not acted upon, and the Board of Trustees did not approve a law school for Brigham Young University until 1971, seventy-two years after Saxen's suggestion.

Summer School

Professor Cluff inaugurated the annual Brigham Young Academy Summer School to provide inservice training for local teachers. In 1892 Cluff was able to retain the services of Colonel Francis W. Parker, principal of Cook County Normal School in Chicago, one of America's leading authorities on normal school instruction. The success of the summer school session surpassed expectations. School leaders and administrators flocked to Provo to hear Parker, Superintendent

29. Whitely to Cluff, 12 April 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

30. Whitely to Cluff, 3 June 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

31. Saxen to Cluff, 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Maeser, and Principal Cluff. Cluff's first summer school session showed parochial Utah educators that the Church school system could learn much from non-Mormons such as Parker. It also did much to enhance BYA's academic standing, since Cluff was able to attract one of the nation's leading educators to Provo.

The following summer Dr. James Baldwin, prominent educational psychologist from the University of Texas, participated in an even more successful session. At the close of the 1893 summer session, Cluff announced his intention "to bring to Utah the best educators of the East and place them side by side with the best of our home talent."³² In 1894 President Cluff's own Professor Burk A. Hinsdale from the University of Michigan consented to participate in the summer session.

Brigham Young Academy became the pioneer of higher education seminars in Utah, introducing territorial school leaders to new educational ideas. In 1891 only fifty-five attended the summer session. The attendance increased to 400 in 1892,³³ and in 1893 between 400 and 600 educators participated in the seminars.³⁴ Around 350 teachers listened to Professor Hinsdale in 1894.

Besides Parker, Baldwin, and Hinsdale, who came to Utah for BYA summer school sessions, other noted educational figures visited the territory because of their personal interest in Mormon culture. In March 1892 President Charles William Eliot of Harvard University stopped in Utah to observe Mormon communities and LDS educational institutions. When President Eliot spoke to the students of Brigham Young Academy, he "drew a very pleasing comparison between the establishment and development of the Church School system of the Latter-day Saints and the founding and growth of Harvard University."³⁵ President Eliot also spoke to a group

32. "The Teachers' Institute," *Deseret News*, 19 August 1893.

33. "The Summer School," *The Normal* 3 (15 February 1894): 1.

34. "B. Y. Summer School," *Deseret News*, 8 August 1893.

35. Journal of James E. Talmage, 16 March 1892.

of 7,000 people at the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Escorted by James E. Talmage and Willard Young, he visited President Wilford Woodruff and examined operations at the University of Deseret, Brigham Young College, Utah State Agricultural College, Weber Stake Academy, and other Utah schools. Talmage wrote that President Eliot “seems to be in very truth an educator and an educated man; for he evinces deep interest in all topics of importance.”³⁶ President Eliot’s favorable impressions of Utah education promoted widespread interest in LDS communities and schools. At the same time, his energetic speeches to Utah audiences increased interest in education within the territory.

Sunday School and MIA Normals

The normal training program was so successful that the course was offered to teachers in the Church in 1892. Through this program Brigham Young Academy worked to better fulfill its role as “the Church Normal Training School, sustained and supported by the general authorities of the Church.” Providing trained teachers for the Church made the school even more of a “power throughout the length and breadth of Zion.”³⁷

The Sunday School normal program, which was supervised by the Church’s Deseret Sunday School Union, included “instruction in the organization and management of Sunday Schools; in the object and aim of Sunday Schools; in the qualifications of teachers; in methods of organizing and conducting classes; in methods of teaching and training children; in child study.” The Mutual Improvement Association normal classes stressed “methods; home preparations; presentation of preparations; preparations for holding meetings; conducting meetings; managing recreations; creating finances; keeping records; making reports.”³⁸

Participants in the MIA and Sunday School normal courses

36. Ibid.

37. *The Normal* 2 (20 December 1892): 64.

38. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1894-95, p. 43.

were called by the First Presidency of the Church upon recommendation from ward and stake leaders. Ideally, each ward in the Church was to have two or three members trained at the Academy. On several occasions Church members postponed missions to attend Brigham Young Academy for the twenty-week course. The special Church normal programs continued to be popular through their short existence. They were, however, discontinued after the 1895-96 school year.

The Missionary Program

Although missionary courses at the Academy were being well attended as early as 1894, they received their real impetus in 1899. In a letter to the First Presidency, Cluff pointed out the need for missionary schooling: "It is often asserted by missionary presidents that many of our young men who are called to preach the Gospel are wholly, or in part, unprepared, not because they have not a strong testimony, but principally because they are ignorant of the principles of the Gospel and of the scriptures. These missionaries must study, therefore, a year at least before they are ready to do much work." To help prepare missionaries, Cluff offered to "arrange, free of extra expense to the Church, for a class of prospective missionaries, say not to exceed one hundred, and will give them such instruction as will best prepare them for their labors."

Cluff suggested courses in Church history, the Bible and Book of Mormon, gospel principles, and history of "the Romish Church." In addition to a review of grammar school courses, Cluff also proposed "a course of lectures by eminent men, such as the Apostles, returned missionaries, the seven Presidents of Seventies, etc., on the needs of missionaries in the fields." The course, to last one school year or less, would be offered annually.³⁹

In September 1899 the General Church Board of Education "passed a resolution authorizing a Missionary Training

39. General Board Minutes, 1 May 1899.

Program for one year to be conducted not only at Brigham Young Academy, but at BYC and LDSC.”⁴⁰ Results of the missionary training program were gratifying. The General Authorities felt the program was inspired, and mission presidents’ reactions were favorable. Elias Smith Kimball, Sr., president of the Southern States Mission, complimented President Cluff on the program:

There lately arrived in this Mission quite a large company of young Elders from Utah, among whom are several from the B. Y. Academy of Provo. They are fine boys and will do credit to you and your Grand Institution. God bless all such institutions for they are the natural nurseries for Missionaries — educating the mental and spiritual alike.

There is a spirit pervading the very atmosphere surrounding the Academy that is divine. This Spirit makes its impress upon the hearts of our young people, seemingly remaining with them through life. As a student of the B. Y. Academy I testify of the truth of this statement. . . .

A thorough, faithful course in one of our Church schools places a young man in the missionary field one year in advance of another who has not been blessed in a similar way.⁴¹

Mission presidents sometimes requested through George Reynolds that young men be sent from Brigham Young Academy to areas where well-trained missionaries were especially needed.⁴²

The First Council of the Seventy was eventually given the responsibility of developing the curriculum of the missionary program at Brigham Young Academy. The missionary program was fully operative before Cluff left the Academy on his

40. James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-71), 3:323-26.

41. Elias Smith Kimball, Sr., to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 5 March 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

42. George Reynolds to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 2 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

expedition to South America in 1900. Each missionary call from President Snow was accompanied by a request for the new missionary to take a preparatory course at Brigham Young Academy.

Impressions of a Young Student

Some students at the Academy during the Cluff years were affected by the turbulent administrative affairs of the school, but most of them peacefully continued their studies quite unaware of Brigham Young Academy's struggle for survival. Like students during the Maeser Administration, they found academic life a challenging experience, especially since many of them were living away from home for the first time. Rose Vickery, a young student from Levan, Utah, kept an extensive diary of her activities as a high school student at Brigham Young Academy during the years 1897 to 1900. Since Rose was probably representative of younger students at the school, her diary provides excellent insight into student life at Brigham Young Academy during the Cluff years.

Rose decided to attend Brigham Young Academy in the fall of 1897. She made the three-day trip to Provo with her parents, traveling by wagon and team, camping out every night along the way, cooking breakfast and dinner over an open campfire. In Provo, "after considerable maneuvering," Rose was able to find a "room 3½ blocks from school from a deaf old lady, Mrs. Nielson."⁴³

On her first day at the Academy, Rose

was up and had breakfast before sun up. . . . At an early hour we presented ourselves at the Academy and wandered around over the building until 9:45 when the signal was given for all to Enter Room D. It was a grand sight when they had all assembled. On a platform sat the Faculty and below sat the students.

43. Diary of Rose Vickery, 27 August 1897, BYU Archives. Rose Vickery's diary was donated to Brigham Young University by Anna J. Day, Scipio, Utah, for use in the preparation of this history.



Early school assembly
in Room D of the
Academy Building.

When all was quiet the most beautiful strains of music floated on the air and the choir sang "Kind Words Are Sweet Tones of the Heart." President Benjamin Cluff, after prayer was offered, delivered a short but impressive speech. Several other gentlemen gave some good counsel. One said, "The parents sent their children to school thinking they are pure gold, and the faculty had to return their brass buttons to them," but another one said that the "parents sent brass buttons to school but the academy tried to send them back pure gold." Which was right?⁴⁴

Like most students, Rose was challenged by her schoolwork. She wrote that "Elder McKensie [David McKenzie] commenced his lectures to prove the genuineness of the Bible and we have to write a synopsis of it and it is going to be a task as some of the words are jaw breakers."⁴⁵

One day just after the term began, Rose decided to "record everything that happens to me for the next 24 hours." Her detailed record described the routine of a typical BYA student's day:

It is now eleven, unrobe and after offering prayer retire . . . Awoke at 6:30 and wakening Mary related to her my dream which consisted of a big letter. After dressing I gathered the school books together, which consisted of no less than eighteen apiece. Set the table and at 7 sat down to breakfast, which consisted of bread both white and spotted, and cheese and honey. From 7 to 8 ate my breakfast and made my toilette. During this hour there has 16 [people] passed and Mrs. Nielson has called in several times. From 8 to 9 got ready for school and studied Book keeping until 8:15 when I started for school. At Simon's gate met Miss Claudia on her bike, arrived at school at 8:30 and immediately went to Room D and had a chat with Mrs. Robinson. At 8:40 at the call of the bell went down stairs to Room 1 for English, was privileged to answer one question and spoke to Miss Katie Bailey. At 9:45 again ascended to Room D for devotional

44. Ibid., 1 September 1897.

45. Ibid., 13 September 1897.

exercises which commenced by singing "Zion Prospers, All is Well." Prayer offered by L. E. Eggertson after which Prof. Brimhall delivered a brief but emphatic speech with regard to "street walking." At 10 retired to Room E for Theology. Answered 3 questions and spoke to Miss Sarah Christensen. At Eleven went to Room 1 for Algebra. On my road there spoke to Ida Farnsworth, Mamie Ollorton, Ovena Jorgensen, and Lucille Young. At 12 went upstairs, got hat, came down again, said "hellow" to Mr. Jorgensen and walked home and got dinner (same as breakfast). She got a letter from her mother which revealed the fact that Joseph Jensen and Joseph Christensen are called on missions. At 1 o'clock we were down in the lower regions for Book keeping, had a chat with Viola Parker while waiting for Prof. Keeler. A regular row in the class about the price of books. Mr. John James Hickman was mouth for the class, and he sure mouthed it. Remained in the same room for Elocution. Was honored by a word from Mr. Ellsworth. Took a breathing exercise and talked to Katie Peterson and *Amelia Hammond*. Came home and between 4 and 5 studied English and picked plums. From 5 to 6 finished English and started Algebra. From 6 to 7 finished Algebra and got supper (same as before only a bottle of apricots). From 7-8 ate supper. From 8-9 spent the time in recreations consisting of dish washing, reciting, singing and breathing. From 9-10 prepared the Elocution, and then retired to rest.⁴⁶

Like other students who had to make each penny count, Rose spent part of September bottling fruit to sustain her through the winter. Hunger was not infrequent among Academy students. On 31 October 1897 "after arriving home after meeting," Rose and her roommates "felt quite dispondant from the fact that we had no supper and what was worser there was nothing to eat. A shout of joy went up however when our Nellie emerged from the bottommost realm of the flour bin with a hard and blackened crust which we ate in grateful

46. Ibid., 21 September 1897.

silence and soon afterward retired. Half a loaf is better than no bread and ditto with that crust. Good night.”⁴⁷ A real treat was a “supper of bread and milk and squash pie.”⁴⁸

While at the Academy Rose developed a greater appreciation for the gospel in her life. Daily devotionals promoted religious faith. Her zest for life and her exuberance in the gospel were exemplified on the day of the first snow of 1897. Seeing the new snow, she instinctively stooped down and scooped some up. She “rose again, elbo bended, mouth flew open — and then guess what happened — Well it was a solemn voice whispered, ‘Fast day! touch not, taste not.’ And the power of light overcame the power of darkness and I threw it from me as if it were poison.”⁴⁹ On the same day, Rose gave an alliterative account of her evening’s activities: “Came home, supper, salt, struggle, stroll, stealth, sheet, scare, study, stick-to-it-ive-ness, stopped, study sleep simple slumber.”

After three months of study Rose, like many BYA students, took the train home for Christmas recess. She rode through the small towns, bundled up and joking with all her new-found friends, enjoying one of the most memorable experiences of her school year.

Back at school, Rose struggled for self-improvement. She was inspired by President Cluff and Brother Brimhall to strive for excellence. She especially enjoyed her weekly class with Susa Young Gates. The lecture was “a God send. I am happier now than I’ve ever dared hoped to be but I hope to yet be freer and happier. Oh if I could not control my passions and become a truly noble woman; that I may add honor to the honorable name of my father; but most of all that I may in very deed be a daughter of God.”⁵⁰

Along with the inspiring days, there were lonely evenings:

The wind moans mournfully about the house in which we

47. Ibid., 31 October 1897.

48. Ibid., 5 December 1897.

49. Ibid., 7 November 1897.

50. Ibid., 19 February 1898.

are alone. Mamie & Sadie have gone to a party with Lafayette, and the boys are also gone. After carefully locking all the doors and fastening all the windows we sat down to study but our minds whistled and whirled away with every gust of wind and so we gave it up. To pass away the time I made some pies but that did not take long, and so we sat down and talked of old times, every now and then looking over our shoulders expecting to see the ghosts of the buried past. We read old letters, looked at old pictures and took down old wishbones and wished and still the wind howled on. As a last resort I took thee down and once more write. . . . Ah me how times does fly and yet does drag.⁵¹

Besides lonely nights, there were dances, parties, and traditional Academy events. Teachers and students were introduced to each other at the handshake party. Rose's first handshake party was "one of the gloriously happy" days of her life:

Hurried with my lessons and at half past seven was on my way to our Temple of Learning for our grand Hand Shake, and I never expect to be nearer heaven in mortality than I was for about two hours after that. I shall never forget that long line of teachers nor the procession of students as they marched past, each one shaking hands with the teachers, and then the students had such hand shaking among themselves. Well they finally got settled down and a beautiful program was rendered consisting of music, songs, speeches, toasts, etc.

The Class of "98" was represented by a young man. "The Century Class" by a young lady who recited a beautiful piece composed for the occasion. The Class of "1901" (a mighty one) was represented by Miss Ollorton. The Class of 1902 (Be True) by a young man, and last but not least the Class of 1903 also by a young man, A. F. Acord. Toasts were given to the Board, Faculty and Students. A young man represented the Commercial College. He said that this was a manly class from the fact that there was not a woman in it, but when all the dressmakers and Housekeepers were tired of single life they would

51. Ibid., 19 November 1898.

know where to apply. Professor Cluff gave a gracious welcome to all. After we had finished our program we repaired to the lawn for a Melon feast, and it was a feast too.⁵²

Such were the reflections of an adolescent girl at Brigham Young Academy. Older students may have been less apprehensive, more mature in their thinking, and more disciplined in their studies; but Rose Vickery's experience was probably representative of younger students at the Academy during the Cluff years.

The Domestic System and Student Discipline

Students at the Academy during Cluff's administration were supervised by the domestic system that Karl G. Maeser had initiated many years before. Rules were strictly enforced. Gradually, however, administration of the domestic system was transferred to the students themselves. Cluff explained that "the aim here as well as in the school proper is to teach the students the great principles of self-government, realizing that the highest point to be reached in discipline by young men or young ladies is the ability to govern and control themselves. The greatest liberty possible is, therefore, allowed the students until by some overt act they demonstrate that they are not able to use that liberty with wisdom and discretion."⁵³

President Cluff attempted to place pupils from the same area together in domestic wards. Students occupied responsible positions under the guidance of a selected faculty member. Student ward leaders were often ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood to be able to carry out their callings. Emphasis was placed on self-discipline and leadership training. Students were assigned as visiting teachers to other students in their boardinghouses.⁵⁴

52. Ibid., 9 September 1897.

53. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., "President's Report," 21 May 1896, p. 3.

54. See Wilford Warnick's journal, Rose Vickery's diary, and a description of the domestic system in the 16 January 1897 issue of the *Deseret News*.

Karl G. Maeser approved Cluff's innovations, but he still advocated the continuance of a strong domestic program. He wrote Cluff that "I have more than ever become convinced of the wisdom of our Domestic system which is in accordance with the Spirit of the Gospel. The lack of anything like it in the institutions of the World is apparent in the moral condition of the youth of both sexes, which makes me sick at heart."⁵⁵

There were violations of the domestic code ranging from simple pranks, smoking, and drinking, to a few serious cases of immorality, but most students supported the school's code of conduct. President Cluff warned the girls of Brigham Young Academy that they should not become too fond of dances and unduly familiar with their gentlemen friends.⁵⁶ Students were especially admonished to refrain from the "hold-me-tight" style of round dances.⁵⁷ They were constantly reminded of the serious purpose of their stay at Brigham Young Academy. *The Normal* editorialized,

This is the time to study, not the time to play nor to spark. If we attempt to study and spark at the same time, both will be a failure. It is proper and necessary to exercise charity and love to each other, but not that kind of love which breeds contempt. Avoid making associations with the opposite sex which, when the year closes, will have to be broken off to the distress of the young lady and possibly the young man also. Treat each other with all possible courtesy and kindness, but do not go any further than this. There will be plenty of girls after school is over, so also will there be any number of young men, and there will be enough time in which to court whether your choice be in school or out of school.

No young man has a right to rob the ladies of their study hours. They may be pleased to have you come, may treat you with the highest respect; still, this would be no excuse for your coming. Now is the time to study and the

55. Maeser to Cluff, 9 April 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers.

56. Brigham Young Academy Young Ladies Class Minutes, 22 April 1898, BYU Archives.

57. *White, and Blue*, 27 November 1902.

lady students have no more time to waste than the young men.⁵⁸

Punishment invariably followed apprehension for violations. In a letter to President Cluff, Acting President George Brimhall described how he handled some young scholars who “got drunk and had what they called a good time.” After seeing that one of the offenders was “humiliated in his own feelings,” Brimhall “told him to go on with his work and attend to his prayers and he has been one of the best boys in school ever since, though he was pretty wild when he came here. Another I suspended for two days and three for one week when their parents brought them back and vouched for their conduct and they have behaved themselves fairly well since that time.”⁵⁹ School administrators tempered judgment with mercy, but serious offenses in conduct resulted in permanent suspension from the school.

Parents were naturally concerned for their children, and they communicated their concern to BYA administrators. Cluff was asked to help students find lodging. Some parents had President Cluff break engagements. Others asked him to look after the appearance of their sons. Other worried parents asked for weekly reports on their daughter’s welfare. President Cluff welcomed students who brought their personal problems to him. Though he encouraged pupils to take problems to their Church leaders, Cluff nevertheless spent many hours helping students with personal difficulties.

Club Organizations

During Cluff’s administration student organizations increased in number and popularity. The Polysophical Society remained the most prestigious and best attended of the campus clubs. Some of “the brightest minds of the state and many other states and territories lectured to the society on subjects having a range as wide as science, art, literature, and national

58. “Editorials,” *The Normal* 1 (24 September 1891): 1-2.

59. Brimhall to Cluff, 24 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

questions.”⁶⁰ The Literary Club continued to be popular. N. L. Nelson, scientist, philosopher, and prolific writer, still presided over this club and made the meetings appeal to those of a more intellectual bent. Plays, readings from the classics, and original compositions were presented at Literary Club meetings.⁶¹

Some student organizations supplemented classroom instruction. Specialists in various fields, along with outstanding students, read papers and held question-and-answer sessions in meetings of the Science Society. Membership in the Commercial Law Club was open to all students and friends of the Academy; prominent lawyers and businessmen spoke on civil law and government at Wednesday night meetings of this popular organization. The Pedagogium was an auxiliary of the Normal School where professional educators discussed questions of school administration and educational methodology.⁶²

Athletics

Competitive athletics developed at the Academy during Cluff's administration. Karl G. Maeser and some other administrators in the Church school system doubted the value of school sports. But Cluff, who had seen the extensive athletics program at Michigan, viewed sports as a complement to academic life. Baseball and football became the main attractions of the Academy athletics program. Baseball began in 1891, football in 1896, and track and field in 1899.⁶³ Most athletic events were held on Temple Hill (present site of upper campus). Students, both as participants and spectators, enjoyed sports with increasing interest each year. *The Normal* of 24 March 1893 praised the formation of an athletics club as “a step in the right direction. At this season of the year there is an almost irresistible impulse to live in the open air and to give

60. *Deseret News*, 16 January 1897.

61. Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 176.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Roberts and Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff, Jr.,” pp. 60-76.

the physical man an amount of exercise at least equal to the amount of intellectual nourishment that has been imbibed during the winter. Judicially directed, this impulse will result in good in every line of effort and will create a beautiful and patriotic spirit.”

However, this sentiment was not shared by all educational leaders. George Goddard, general superintendent of the Church Sunday School Union, urged Wilford Woodruff to oppose school athletics, saying that “college yells and football games are damaging to the respectability of such institutions and very destructive in their tendency of life, limb, and the religious tone that should always characterize every Latter-day Saint school of learning.” Goddard was especially outraged by the Brigham Young Academy-Crescent football game that was played on Christmas Day 1897,

where drinking, profanity, and fighting was so freely indulged in, that it made it impossible for the officers of the law to repress. Such was the way that some of our young men (who are supposed to be training for the ministry, to teach mankind to revere, honor and obey Jesus Christ) observed the anniversary of His birthday. Prize fighting is an innocent amusement in comparison, and unless it is stopped, I fear it will lead to a religious partisan conflict, as that spirit was evidently manifest last Saturday. As I cannot conceive of one particle of good arising from indulgences in either Yells or *Football games*, but I can see a great amount of evil, therefore, my voice and influence will always be in favor of their utter abandonment by all Latter-day Saints.⁶⁴

President Brigham Young, Jr., called college yells “an abomination to my spirit.” To him, the yells sounded like “a lot of hoodlums going through the streets.”⁶⁵ As time went on, others besides President Young, Superintendent God-

64. George Goddard to Wilford Woodruff, 27 December 1897, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

65. Journal of Brigham Young, Jr., 10 October 1895.



Young ladies exercising
at the Beaver Branch.



First Brigham Young Academy
football team, fielded in 1896.

dard, and his counselor Karl Maeser began pushing for the abolition of sports. The problem was not limited to Provo or Brigham Young Academy. Most Church schools were having the same troubles.

About the same time the athletic question was being argued, college debating also became a source of contention. The objection to debating was that students often took positions in debates which were against their sincere beliefs. Many thought this was destructive of character. Accordingly, the General Board, led by Maeser, banned athletics and debating. Nevertheless, some Academy students continued participating in sports and debate outside the school. This caused great furor; Maeser was deluged with letters from people all over Utah asking why these activities were not stopped. It appeared to Maeser that Brigham Young Academy was involved in most of the incidents, so he wrote a stiff letter of reprimand to Cluff.⁶⁶ Cluff replied that he understood Maeser's feelings, but he agreed with other academy principals that the General Board should consider adopting a modified program of athletics and debating.⁶⁷

George H. Brimhall suggested that the General Board should meet to discuss the matter. At the meeting, Joseph F. Smith and Karl G. Maeser strongly expressed themselves as being opposed to football, while the academy principals argued for the sport. On motion of James Sharp, the General Board finally decided to let each academy board set policy for its own school.⁶⁸ Most boards took a moderate approach. Like the Salt Lake Stake Board, they allowed athletics, but specified "that football be excepted" and "barred as a barbarious brutal exercise not to be dignified by the title of a game." Older students were allowed to participate in debates as long as they observed certain regulations, most notably the "nondiscussion of any truth of revealed religion."⁶⁹ By December 1899

66. Maeser to Cluff, 6 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

67. Cluff to Maeser, 13 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

68. General Board Minutes, 1 December 1899.

69. General Board of Education Uncatalogued Papers, 6 December 1899, Church Historical Department.

Maeser had succeeded in getting all semblances of organized football excluded and forbidden from the sports program of Brigham Young Academy.⁷⁰

Though athletics and other matters began to interest Brigham Young Academy during Cluff's administration, students were kept busy, as in the Maeser era, with their studies and occasional socials. There were attempts to broaden student activities, but it was not until Brimhall's presidency that clubs and athletics became a major aspect of student life. Like Rose Vickery, most Academy students during Cluff's administration dedicated themselves to study first and then to extracurricular activities.

70. BYA Board Minutes, 12 October 1900.

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In Search of Zarahemla: 1900-1902

For some years Benjamin Cluff dreamed of conducting an expedition to Central and South America to prove scientifically that the Book of Mormon was an authentic record of great civilizations that had existed in the western hemisphere.¹ He felt that the Church needed to take the offensive and prove its claims to the world. Having taught at Brigham Young Academy, he had confidence that Mormon students could establish themselves as reputable scholars and defend the Church intellectually as well as spiritually. And, envisioning the expedition to South America, President Cluff hoped to place the Academy in the scientific limelight. After a year or two of discussing this enterprise with trusted friends and faculty members, he perceived the time was right to present his plan to Church authorities in Salt Lake City.

Organizing the Expedition

In December 1899 Cluff outlined his proposal to Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon, counselors to President Lorenzo Snow. President Cluff also told Lorenzo Snow of his

1. See Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 101-4.



Lorenzo Snow, President
of The Church of Jesus Christ of
Latter-day Saints
from 1898 to 1901

Courtesy Church Archives, The Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

plan to search out ancient Book of Mormon ruins and to make geological, biological, and linguistic studies in Central and South America. He proposed that the party should consist of faculty members, exceptional students from the Academy, and other qualified men. Aside from the scientific success which he hoped such a venture would bring, Cluff felt that the expedition might open the way for taking the gospel to the peoples of Latin America. After the plan was reviewed by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve, President Cluff was given authorization to begin preparing for the expedition as a Brigham Young Academy project.²

As he organized the expedition, Cluff's biggest challenge was selecting the proper men. He interviewed prospective expedition members and sent their names to the First Presidency, who called them to serve. Cluff invited sons and relatives of some leading Church men to accompany the expedition. He asked President Joseph F. Smith to send one of his sons, but President Smith declined since one of his older sons was struggling to establish a home while the other two sons that were old enough to go were on missions for the Church.³ Cluff was successful in getting John Q. Cannon, grandson of George Q. Cannon, to join the expedition, and by the end of February the list of expeditioners was almost complete. Those selected to join the group were Joseph Adams from Parowan, W. R. Adams from Parowan, John Q. Cannon from Salt Lake City, John Fairbanks from Salt Lake City, Henry Giles from Salt Lake City, Soren Hansen from Castledale, B. T. Higgs

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2. Source materials for this chapter were taken from the correspondence of General Authorities, from the Roberts and Cluff typescript biography of Benjamin Cluff, and from the expedition diaries of Chester Van Buren, Asa Kienke, Walter Tolton, and Heber Magleby. President Cluff's records of the expedition are unavailable. The Walter Wolfe diary became available as this chapter was being completed. The Wolfe diary substantiates the authenticity of the other journals and does not alter the evidence contained in other records of the expedition. Therefore, the Wolfe diary and notebooks, the originals of which are in the BYU Archives, are not quoted in this chapter.
 3. Joseph F. Smith to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 6 February 1900, Joseph F. Smith Papers, Church Historical Department.

from Castledale, William Hughes from Spanish Fork, Asa Kienke from Nephi, Heber Magleby from Monroe, Jesse May from Nephi, George Munford from Beaver, Mosher Pack from Kamas, Lafayette Rees from Wales, Utah, Eugene Roberts from Provo, John L. Seevy (who left the expedition just after it started) from Panguitch, Warren Shephard from Beaver, Walter Tolton from Beaver, Chester Van Buren from Huntington, and Royal Woolley from Kanab. Cluff chose Gordon Beckstead and Brigham Young Academy Professor Walter M. Wolfe as his two counselors.⁴

In order to lend moral support to the expedition, the First Presidency wrote each prospective member of the group that "This expedition has been organized with our consent and approval, and we trust that those who compose the party will feel the importance of the work and will so order their lives that the spirit and blessings of our Heavenly Father may always be with them."⁵ Though Church authorities sanctioned the expedition, it was sponsored by the Academy. The Polysophical Society furnished \$200, and the Founders Day ball proceeds, amounting to \$50, were also donated to the expedition.⁶ Major expenses, however, were absorbed by members of the group themselves. Each man was expected to equip himself with two hardy horses, clothing for fifteen months, cooking utensils, sleeping gear, guns and ammunition, one month's provisions, and other personal items.⁷ Equipment was expensive, and parents of expedition members paid for much of it out of their own pockets. Walter

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4. Later, when Wolfe became extremely critical of Cluff and the expedition, he told the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections that he "was very unwilling to go on the expedition, and for a long time President Cluff debated as to whether I should go or Brother [Edwin S.] Hinckley. Brother Cluff asked me one day why I did not want to go. I told him it would be equivalent to slavery for me to go" (*See Smoot Proceedings before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections*, 4:45-46).
 5. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr." p. 106.
 6. BYA Faculty Minutes, 10 January 1900.
 7. See a suggested list of provisions in the Chester Van Buren Papers, UA 352, BYU Archives.

Wolfe had to borrow \$150 from the Academy's student loan association to fit himself out.⁸

Anticipation of the journey compensated for the burden of outfitting costs as the whole Academy buzzed with excitement. The expedition became a front-page news story. President Cluff held a news conference in Salt Lake City to outline the plans of the excursion. He said the party would have five "sections," each with a presiding officer. The first group was to study ancient ruins and physical geography. The second group was to "study and collect specimens of geology and mineralogy," while the third group was to devote itself exclusively to the study of flora and fauna encountered along the trail. The fourth group was to consist of a "corps of artists," and the fifth section was to be a group of hunters who would procure game and provisions. After the expedition had reached its destination and completed its explorations, four members of the company would stay behind and make a "special study of the language and customs of the people." The main work of the expedition would be "along the Magdalena River, which runs north from the highlands of Ecuador." Cluff noted that this river was "supposed to be the River Sidon, mentioned in the Book of Mormon."⁹

On 7 April 1900 members of the expedition met in President Snow's office to be set apart by John W. Taylor and Francis M. Lyman.¹⁰ Later, at Provo, President Snow "reminded them of the fact that they were participating in a great adventure which had become a church mission, and that their conduct should always be that expected of missionaries."¹¹

As the April 17 departure date approached, excitement at the Academy ran at fever pitch. Students who had been selected to go on the expedition were instant celebrities. On 15 April 1900 a special fast meeting was held for the expedition boys. Last minute instructions were given. Monday April 16

8. *Smoot Hearings*, 4:46.

9. "Utah Men for Exploration," *Journal History*, 24 March 1900.

10. See Chester Van Buren Papers and Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 105.

11. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 105.

was, in the words of Van Buren, full of “hustle and confusion.”¹² In less than four months, all preparations had been completed for an expedition that was to travel thousands of miles in ten different countries with climatic conditions varying all the way from the frigid weather of Utah to the torrid heat of Colombia. A grand farewell party was given the evening of April 16 at the Academy Building. Hundreds of people “packed room D to its utmost capacity. The expedition boys were invited to attend in their duck clothes and were heartily applauded when they entered the room.”¹³ A grand march followed, and there was dancing and feasting until two o’clock in the morning.

Through Southern Utah

At seven o’clock on the morning of April 17 the sleepy boys were awakened by a bugle after only five hours in bed. President Cannon and other Church leaders spoke to the party at ten o’clock, and lunch was served to five hundred people. After many toasts and accolades, the expedition members retired to President Cluff’s home to saddle up. As the procession rode down Academy Avenue, the street was lined with well-wishers, many snapping pictures of the beginning of a heroic journey to the land of the Nephites. Acting President George Brimhall carried “the Academy colors,” and “students bearing the different class banners and all mounted on white horses fell in line” with the procession. In addition, Van Buren wrote that “a large number of carriages and wheels came with us out of Provo to start us on the way.”¹⁴

At Springville the company was met by “400 school children.” After a program the expedition received a \$16 donation and then moved on to Spanish Fork for another celebration. A brass band escorted them into town, and camp was set at the tithing yard. Members of the party were given a banquet

12. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 16 April 1900, BYU Archives.

13. Ibid.

14. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 17 April 1900.



Brigham Young Academy explorers
ready to begin the South American
Expedition. President Cluff is
fourth from the left
in this photograph.

and honored at a grand ball which “many of the boys enjoyed to a late hour or early hour in the morning.”¹⁵

The next day, April 18, officials and citizens of Santaquin, Payson, Mona, and Nephi turned out to greet the explorers. On April 19 the expedition skirted Wales and moved on to Fountain Green. Again “the whole town was out. A large banquet was prepared in the meeting house. . . . After dinner 12 young ladies escorted us to the edge of town where they lined up as we passed through. They were crying and tears came in the eyes of many of us.”¹⁶ The voyagers pushed on to Manti where all the temple workers came out and “waved their handkerchiefs” as the party rode past. On April 20 another banquet awaited them at Mayfield. The fourth day ended at Gunnison where another feast and dance were given. By then the boys were exhausted, not from deprivations of a hard journey, but from eating and dancing.

The first Sunday, April 22, was spent in Richfield where a special program was given in honor of the explorers. Many of the expedition members were called on to address the congregation. After the services, the company learned that the Saints at Elsinore had also planned a Sunday meeting for them, so the seven-mile trek was undertaken to keep the appointment. Kanosh was the next stop, and inclement weather proved to be the first unpleasant experience of the trip. Meals were taken in the homes of local Church members in the evening, and then the group attended another ball that night. After the dance, Cluff called the company together and told them he planned to move out in time to reach Cove Fort by morning. After a few hours' sleep and a quick bite to eat, the expedition wended its way out “thru the blackness and storm,”¹⁷ periodically sounding a bugle in order to keep everyone together in the storm.¹⁸ Cold and shivering, the weary members of the expedition arrived at Cove Fort at six o'clock in the morning, and, after a short rest, grudgingly

15. Ibid.

16. Diary of Heber Magleby, 19 April 1900, typescript in BYU Archives.

17. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 23 April 1900.

18. Diary of Asa Kienke, 23 April 1900, typescript in BYU Archives.

pushed on to Beaver. To keep up with their schedule, the expeditioners had to travel forty-eight miles that day.

The hard ride was soon forgotten as the mayor and brass band from Beaver met Cluff and his men at the outskirts of town. School had been let out so the whole town could welcome the party. Festivities were held at the Beaver Branch of Brigham Young Academy with proceeds going to the expedition. The following day expedition members were given the key to the town and invited to a dance that evening. The next day some of the boys were rebuked for having taken girls to the dance who were “not of our faith.”¹⁹ What really troubled the expedition leaders was the report that one of the boys had been out with some “girls of ill repute.” Cluff did not want the image of the expedition to be tarnished in any way. He made it clear that any second offense would mean release from the company.²⁰

On April 27 the expedition left Beaver in a snowstorm. When the group reached Paragonah, they had to decide whether to stay there or move on to Parowan, since the towns were vying for the privilege of hosting the men. After some discussion it was decided that Paragonah would provide supper at six o'clock that evening and that the expedition would move on to Parowan for dinner and a program at ten. Two dinners in one evening were difficult to manage, but the boys worked off their sluggishness by dancing until two o'clock in the morning.

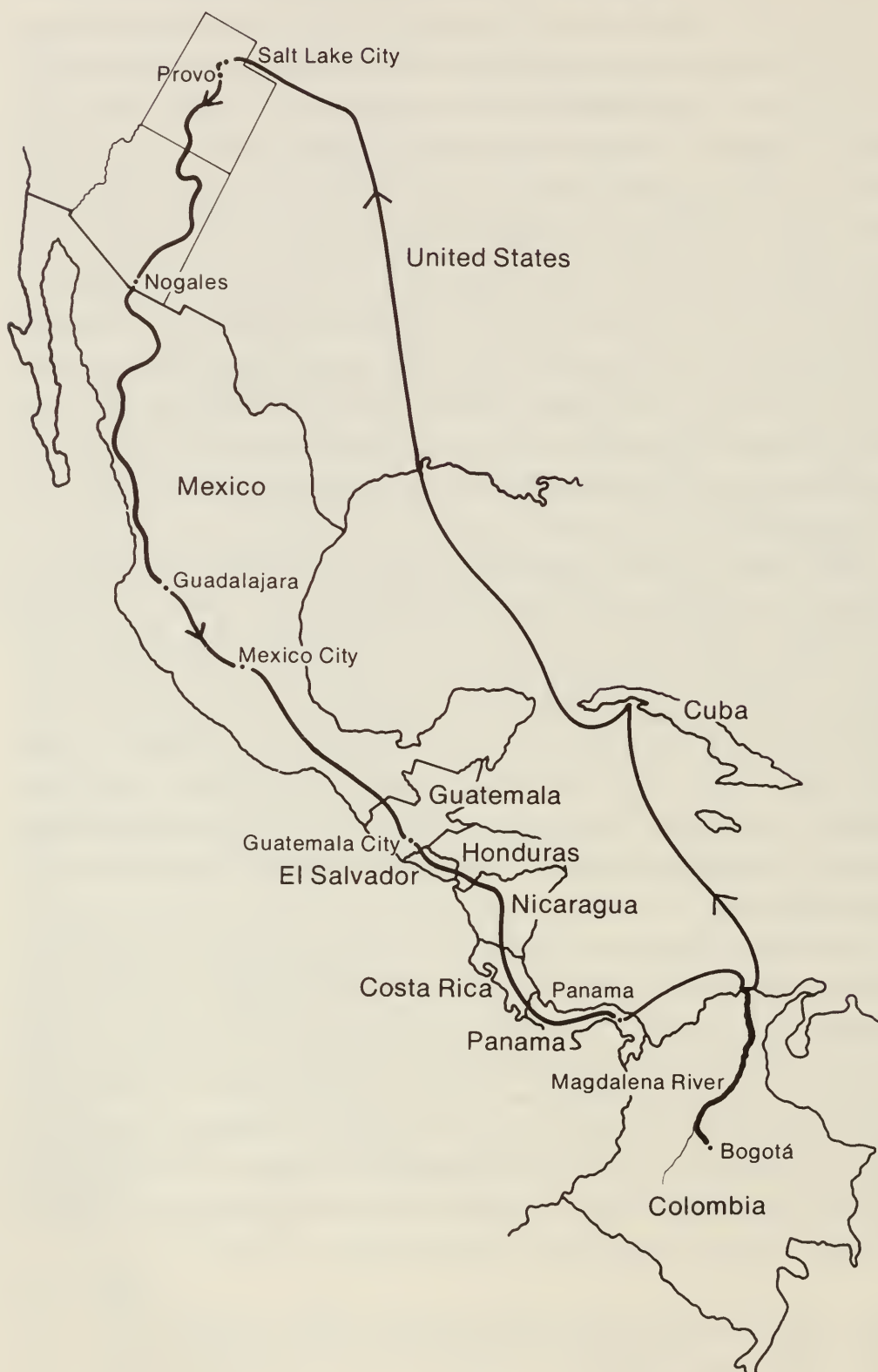
After moving on to Panguitch, the company headed for Kanab. For the first time the expedition stopped and set up camp. The boys had been gone sixteen days and had yet to cook a meal themselves. The only hardships they had experienced were too much food and entertainment. Instead of spending their nights on the army cots purchased in Provo, they had slept in comfortable beds. On May 2 the mayor of Kanab welcomed the expedition into a banquet hall full of tables “nicely spread with the bounties of life.”²¹

19. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 26 April 1900.

20. Diary of Asa Kienke, 27 April 1900.

21. Ibid., 3 May 1900.

General Route of Cluff Expedition, 1900-1902



Into Arizona

The next morning Cluff reorganized the expedition into small squads. Each group had its own horse-wrangler, dishwasher, and cook, and there were about five expeditioners in each squad. Even though some of the boys were upset at being placed in different groups, division of labor within the camp was necessary since many of the boys were inexperienced at animal care and other camp matters. When Tom Higgs was paring his horse's hooves, another horse kicked it, causing Higgs to run a knife through the horse's leg. The animal began to bleed profusely. Higgs asked Van Buren to help him shoe one of the horses, since he "did not want to cripple another horse."²² Higgs tied a rope around the horse's neck, and Chester began to shoe. As the horse drew back farther and farther from Van Buren, Chester gained better control of the animal, but within minutes the horse keeled over. One of the men nearby saw what had happened and quickly ran to the horse and cut the rope. Higgs had tied the rope with a slip knot, and, as the horse backed away from Van Buren, the rope tightened around its neck until it almost choked to death.

On May 5 the expedition finally left Utah and entered the Painted Desert of Arizona. It had been decided previously that the wagons would proceed to Jacob's Pool and wait for the rest of the party which was to take an eight-day excursion through the Buckskin Mountains for hunting and exploration. John Fairbanks, the expedition's artist, stayed in Kanab for a week to paint and do some photography work. In the Arizona mountains, the party reveled in its first taste of camp life. Rabbits were shot and roasted to a delicious brown. President Cluff offered a dollar to the man who brought the first deer to camp. Venison steaks were soon a daily treat. This was the first time some of the boys had lived off the land, and the experience seemed idyllic.

Along with the routine of camp chores, the expedition inaugurated its first on-the-trail classes, conducted by the

22. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 4 May 1900.

qualified men accompanying the expedition. The party studied the Book of Mormon in preparation for their exploration of the Book of Mormon lands of Central and South America. In addition, they studied archaeology, history, and later, Spanish. During the week, expedition members made trips to the numerous cliff-dwellings in the area.

After the party reunited at Jacob's Pool, the expedition began the three-day trek to Lee's Ferry where they were to cross the Colorado River. In the heat of the northern Arizona desert, the men were introduced to the harsh conditions of the regions they were to explore. At Lee's Ferry, Joseph Adams narrowly escaped drowning in the river as he lost control in the current and was carried off by a strong undertow. Adams was rescued, and the wagons, equipment, and horses were ferried across the Colorado. Then the expedition began the rugged march south towards the Little Colorado River. The wells along the way contained water that even the horses would not drink. Unsuccessful attempts were made to dig new wells and to sieve the "horrible stuff."²³ As Cluff went ahead to arrange help from members of the Church living in Tuba City, expedition members longingly recalled their royal treatment in Utah. Finally, after days in the wilderness, they were met by members of the Church from Tuba City who had left town at one o'clock in the morning to meet the expedition in the desert and banquet them there. To the bedraggled explorers of Zarahemla, the banquet was manna from heaven. Ironically, however, neither group had drinking water, and expedition members had to wait to quench their thirst. When the travelers got to the Little Colorado, quicksand in the river made it difficult to ride the horses across. President Cluff had left word that some of the party should go to Tuba City and pick up grain for the horses, while others should follow him south and pick up supplies he had left at various settlements and trading posts along the way. The expedition was to regroup at St. Joseph before continuing south.

23. Diary of Walter Tolton, 22 May 1900, typescript in BYU Archives.



Chester Van Buren on
the expedition trail.

Two expeditioners making camp.

St. Joseph was the first of a group of Mormon settlements stretching south to Taylor, Arizona. After weeks in the desert, the young members of the expedition looked forward to the entertainment and hospitality that had characterized their stay in the Utah settlements. They were not disappointed as the Saints at St. Joseph invited them into their homes. President Cluff returned from his excursion south where he had gone to procure feed for the animals; the group bringing the wagons arrived; and Paul Henning, a recent German convert to the Church who spoke excellent Spanish, joined the expedition. While away from the party, President Cluff had heard of grumbling and disobedience among the boys. He severely rebuked the group in general, and a few boys in particular. Asa Kienke wrote: "Pres. C. talked pretty plainly to us, for there had been a good deal of grumbling and he offered Bro. Roberts and Cannon their releases. They did not want them so he gave them another chance."²⁴

On May 30 some of the local girls accompanied the expeditioners on an excursion to the petrified forest to collect specimens for the Academy. In the evening the townspeople held a banquet and a dance in honor of the expeditioners. Amidst all the joy and entertainment, the boys were saddened by the news of the unexpected death of Asa Kienke's father. For a young man so far from home, the shock was overwhelming, and only the unity of the group enabled Kienke to overcome his remorse.

Complaints and Chastisements

When the expedition moved on to Snowflake, camp was made at the tithing yard, and the boys were billeted out for meals. Despite the hospitality of Church members in the area, the expeditioners were eager to push on, cross the border, and really begin their exploring mission. Leaders and members of the expedition were becoming more sensitive and irascible, especially since President Cluff seemed to be unbending in his discipline. He gave a stinging rebuke to some of

24. Diary of Asa Kienke, 27 May 1900.

the wagon drivers for making an unauthorized raid on the provisions wagon. According to Van Buren, President Cluff said, "No one had a right to touch anything in the wagon. . . . It is better to starve awhile. There has been too much waste, and it must be stopped."²⁵ The drivers went to bed very angry that night; Soren Hansen offered to be released from the expedition.

For the next few days, a feeling of uncomfortable calm prevailed in camp. Many expedition members felt that "President Cluff was humiliating us by . . . a lot of insignificant, irritating rules suitable for a band of Apache Indians instead of men whom he had chosen for their fitness to accompany him on this great expedition."²⁶ Chester Van Buren had walked into a forest and "cried like a baby."²⁷ Another council meeting was held to clear the air, and B. T. Higgs was reprimanded for profanity. After the council most of the boys felt better, but some remained upset at President Cluff.

Missionary Work at Thatcher

On June 9, before leaving for the border to arrange matters with customs, Cluff instructed the group that when they reached Thatcher they should go out in pairs to labor as missionaries. According to Van Buren, "Some favored it but most tried to excuse themselves. However President Cluff finally decided for us and we moved on."²⁸ Within two days the expedition had Thatcher in sight and marched into the small community with the bugler playing "Marching Through Georgia." Emil Maeser (son of Karl G. Maeser) of the Gila Academy came out to greet them, and the members of the party were assigned to various homes. A meeting was held at the Gila Academy, and the young men made preparations to go out as missionaries.²⁹

25. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 3 June 1900.

26. *Ibid.*, 5 June 1900.

27. *Ibid.*, 4 June 1900.

28. *Ibid.*, 6 June 1900.

29. Diary of Walter Tolton, 11-12 June 1900.

As the reluctant boys prepared for their missionary endeavors, it became apparent that most were not prepared to serve in that capacity. Van Buren recorded that on June 12 they had "class at 9 A.M. Bro. Magleby was called for the first subject and Bro. Pack for the second. Prof. Emil Maeser was present and submitted questions to each which they were unable to answer and clearly showed to me our incompetency to preach or to meet any opposition advanced. However we were willing to do what we could as long as it was required at our hands."³⁰

The next few weeks were spent preaching throughout the valley. Many of the boys, however, merely visited families and discussed the weather and crops. They also took advantage of every opportunity to visit with the young ladies and to attend the weekly dances. The older members of the expedition were more serious about the missionary work. In two weeks, Walter Tolton "visited 156 families. Held 168 gospel conversations and held 13 meetings."³¹ But Tolton's activity was the exception. The younger men became restless, feeling this "missionary work" was just makework devised by Cluff to "provide for us during our delay."³² Temperatures hovered between 110 and 117 degrees most days, and the boys decided they would rather be sitting in cool homes sipping lemonade in mixed company than out proselyting. Though the boys did nothing really wrong, they "were not so nice as they might have been. They seemed to want to have a good time."³³

The month's delay in Thatcher was demoralizing. Many of the boys complained that Cluff caused the delay by spending too much time visiting Florence Reynolds, who taught at the Juarez Academy in the Mormon Colonies in Mexico. Florence either had become or later became President Cluff's third wife. Cluff actually spent most of his time in Juarez negotiating with customs and soliciting the help of the LDS colonists for the expedition. Cluff undoubtedly felt that the missionary

30. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 12 June 1900.

31. Diary of Walter Tolton, 21 June 1900.

32. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 18 June 1900.

33. *Ibid.*, 15 June 1900.

experience would be good for the expedition members during the delay at Thatcher. He wrote George H. Brimhall that "The boys have been called to labor two by two in the wards of the stake, as much for their good as for the good of the people. In fact we could better afford to stay here a month than to go further without the experience we are getting. This Arizona trip has been invaluable to us." He reaffirmed his confidence in the expedition, telling Brimhall that the results would "redound to the good of the Academy. Next year we will be able to go ahead in the subject of the Book of Mormon, and I think when I return, or before, we should organize a department of American Archeology . . . and take the lead in the great work of showing to the world, to the scientific world, that the Book of Mormon is no myth, but the word of God." Cluff admitted there had been some grumbling among expedition members, but he said "it is all over now I think, and the boys are feeling well, at least most of them." He concluded, "I know it is the will of God that this party should make this trip."³⁴

Church officials were apparently still enthusiastic about the prospects of the expedition. On 22 June 1900 Cluff received a letter of encouragement from Lorenzo Snow, who expressed the hope that everything would "move along harmoniously, and that success will attend your enterprise."³⁵

Visit of Heber J. Grant

As July approached, Cluff had not yet returned from Mexico, and the boys were becoming increasingly restless. On one of the Sundays, Elder Heber J. Grant visited the expedition. Apparently hearing complaints about the boys' behavior, he advised them to remain prayerful and humble and to "let the girls alone,"³⁶ promising them great honors if they would be faithful. Finally, Walter Wolfe notified the group that President Cluff had ordered them to move out within the week. After a farewell party, the expedition advanced, expecting to

34. Cluff to Brimhall, 13 June 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

35. Snow to Cluff, 22 June 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

36. Diary of Heber Magleby, 25 June 1900. Elder Grant's impressions of the group later had disturbing effects on the expedition.

be able to enter Mexico. Cluff was still away, presumably arranging with customs for entry into Mexico. At the last Mormon settlement at St. David, expedition members addressed the congregation on Sunday. Conscious of finally entering foreign territory and really launching their mission, they made camp three miles from Nogales on July 14. The boys spent their first day on the American side of Nogales touring the city, acquainting themselves for the first time with Mexican culture.

Back at camp, they found President Cluff with two of the Mormon colonists. Their exuberant spirit was soon subdued as Cluff explained that problems with customs officials would delay them a few days. The officials had demanded a guarantee from the expedition in the form of a cash bond of \$2,367, and although Cluff had made arrangements with some of the colonists to put up personal and real property in excess of that value, the arrangement was unacceptable to Mexican officials.³⁷ Cluff had obtained permission for his company to camp a few miles outside Nogales until they could collect enough money to post the bond that the customs officials demanded. Low spirits returned to the camp as the boys heard of another delay.

Even more injurious to the camp's morale, leaders of the expedition called a meeting and censured some of the boys for their conduct in Arizona. Cluff reprimanded one of the party for smoking and another for shooting his gun on the road. Apparently, others were similarly reprimanded. Heber Magleby recorded that "many of the boys were up before the President for things they had done." That evening "there was another meeting, in which we all renewed our promise to do our duty and obey all the rules." Each expedition member was required to rededicate himself to the mission, its members, and its leaders. Though some had trouble making a public commitment to Cluff and the expedition, reconciliations were made, and after the meeting "a better feeling was in camp."³⁸

37. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 112.

38. Diary of Heber Magleby, 15 July 1900.

More Trouble at Nogales

The rededicated company crossed the border on July 16 and camped near Nogales. Cluff immediately appealed to Joseph Keeler in Provo to have the required bond posted so that they could move on. While waiting, Cluff decided to take some men exploring. Tolton and Wolfe were left in charge of the boys that remained behind. With some of the party gone, there was little to do but study, mend clothes, and tend to the necessities of camp. To break the monotony of the day, Tolton took the men out hunting. This, however, did not relieve their low spirits.

At their next Sunday meeting, "Fault finding came as a kind of safety valve to our pent up feelings. . . . Bro. Fairbanks . . . spoke of the punishment of the Israelites when they were led out of bondage by Moses. . . . He also spoke of Zion's Camp which was led by the Prophet Joseph Smith and the plague sent upon them for their want of unity and fault finding. I was beginning to wonder if all our delays were sent upon us because of our fault finding and want of unity." Counselor Wolfe admitted that he too was dissatisfied; that he was probably the "greatest kicker" in the camp. He advised the boys to wait patiently.³⁹ The camp attempted to keep busy by collecting birds and shooting game for meat and then preparing the hides to be sent back to Provo. Tolton was designated chief hunter. "I held this position until I returned home," he said: "Was something similar to Nephi in that respect, only I broke my bow oftener than he."⁴⁰

The monotonous waiting was interrupted when Gordon Beckstead heard that his wife was seriously ill and that he should return home at once. Beckstead had been one of the favorites of the party, serving as Cluff's second counselor. It was a sad farewell as the boys escorted him to the train depot in Nogales.

39. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 22 July 1900.

40. Diary of Walter Tolton, 16 July 1900.

Ill Bodings at Home

At the time the expedition was stalled near Nogales, Heber J. Grant reported his visit to the group in Arizona to the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve. In his opinion, the young men selected for the expedition did not have enough experience. They were inclined to be disobedient and were very careless with their animals. They had so few capable men among them that Elder Grant felt that if they entered Latin America they would be in danger of losing their equipment and even their lives. From what "he had seen and heard he freely and frankly stated that the expedition ought to be disbanded."⁴¹

On July 27 the First Presidency addressed a letter to Joseph F. Smith stating the complaints of Elder Grant. President Smith, who was on his way to Mexico, was instructed to meet with President Cluff and his company and tell them that the First Presidency had decided to terminate the expedition. Some time around 1 August 1900 President Smith met with Cluff and Anthony W. Ivins to discuss the future of the expedition. Cluff felt that "if he returned now the expedition would be a failure and his reputation was worth more to him than his life. He would rather fail on the Isthmus or on the banks of the Magdalena River than turn back now."⁴² On August 2 President Smith reported to Lorenzo Snow and George Q. Cannon that "Brother Cluff could not give up his cherished scheme of exploring the South although I told him we thought it would be well for him to do so."⁴³ Though

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41. Journal History, 19 July 1900. Elder Grant said that members of the party were under the mistaken notion that in answering the call of President Cluff they "were doing nothing more or less than performing missionary duties." He believed that the behavior of the group at Thatcher was unbecoming, "that if they were allowed to go on they would never reach their destination and that the church would be put to great expense to bring them home again." He felt "the expedition was a grave and serious mistake, and that lives would be lost unless something were done to either reduce or disband the expedition."
 42. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 1 August 1900, Church Historical Department.
 43. Joseph F. Smith to Lorenzo Snow and George Q. Cannon, 2 August 1900, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

Heber J. Grant and others were seriously disturbed, Cluff persisted in his contention that the expedition should go on.⁴⁴ He had confidence that all would “come out well to the glory of the institution we represent.”⁴⁵

On August 9 the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve met again to discuss the expedition. Elder Reed Smoot thought Cluff was wrong for not following the advice of the Brethren. For the first time, the group discussed President Cluff’s relationship with Florence Reynolds. Though he was already married, President Cluff apparently won Miss Reynolds’ affection and married her in Mexico. Many of the expeditioners’ complaints arose from Cluff’s spending time away from camp with Florence Reynolds.⁴⁶ It was rumored that Cluff intended to keep her with him throughout the expedition. With this new information, President Cannon, who had supported the expedition, said that “if he had known what he had heard today, before Brother Cluff left he certainly would have opposed this expedition.”⁴⁷ President Snow decided to send “word to President Smith that it was the mind of the Twelve — and it certainly was his mind — that the expedition should return.”⁴⁸ Later the same day the brethren decided that if President Cluff and the others agreed, the expedition could continue without official Church sanction.

While the future of the expedition was being decided, the boys remained in camp at Nogales. The long delay exhausted

44. Journal History, 9 August 1900.

45. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Joseph Keeler, 2 August 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

46. Journal History, 9 August 1900.

47. Ibid. The disclosure of Cluff’s relationship to Florence Reynolds may have influenced the Brethren to discontinue the expedition. No record of the marriage has been found, but most people, including Cluff’s other two wives, acknowledged Florence Reynolds as Benjamin Cluff’s wife. At the time of the expedition there was doubt in the minds of some, including certain Church leaders, as to whether the Manifesto of 1890 applied to marriages contracted in countries outside the United States where plural marriage was permitted. All doubt was removed in 1904 when President Joseph F. Smith issued a second Manifesto which declared that the Church would not sanction plural marriage among its members anywhere in the world.

48. Journal History, 9 August 1900.

their nervous and mental endurance. On August 10 rumors reached them that President Smith was coming to visit the expedition. The boys expected only bad news from the visit. Meanwhile, Cluff sent a long letter to George Q. Cannon from Juarez, explaining why he felt the expedition must continue. Cluff said there was "a good chance to succeed but to turn back everything is lost." Pleading that he might be allowed to continue, Cluff wrote that "the good name of the school is worth more than the risk I will run."⁴⁹ Cluff also wrote Acting President Brimhall, urging him to continue supporting the expedition. Cluff did not mention Florence Reynolds in either of the letters. He was apparently unaware that his relationship with her was the cause of much of the expedition's problem.

Other members of the expedition were anxious to continue. Chester Van Buren wrote in his diary on 10 August 1900 that "there was not one boy who would not have been willing to give his life if necessary rather than desert the cause he had taken up."⁵⁰

On Sunday, 12 August 1900, President Smith arrived in camp escorted by President Cluff, and after lunch the "fatal meeting was held."⁵¹ President Smith advised the expeditioners that the Brethren fully sympathized with the goals of Brother Cluff, but they, in the words of President Snow, did not "wish that he or any of his company should expose their lives to accomplish these objects."⁵² President Smith advised the members of the expedition that they would be granted honorable releases and that there was nothing dishonorable in returning to their homes. He also told the expedition that they "would *not* be *disobeying* the authorities" if they proceeded, but they would have "to resume all responsibilities" and "understand that it was purely scientific, *not* a Church

49. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George Q. Cannon, 10 August 1900, George Q. Cannon Papers, Church Historical Department.

50. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 10 August 1900.

51. Diary of Asa Kienke, 12 August 1900.

52. Lorenzo Snow to Joseph F. Smith, 27 July 1900, Lorenzo Snow Papers.

mission.”⁵³ Kienke “asked President Smith if all the blessings that had been promised by them and the Patriarchs would be the same, and he replied they ‘all would be realized just the same as before.”⁵⁴ Heber Magleby recorded that “Joseph F. stated that we may be able to do more good on this trip than we could do out in the mission field.”⁵⁵

After his meeting with the expedition, President Smith wrote Lorenzo Snow and George Q. Cannon that “Cluff and Wolfe felt very much grieved and said they felt sure the Expedition had been greatly misrepresented by someone.”⁵⁶ The next morning President Cluff wrote George Brimhall that he felt “a great injustice has been done me, and through me the Academy, but I thank God that I am permitted to go on. . . . The Academy has had many dark days, and so now is the expedition. About the darkest day in my life, but as the School has succeeded, so will we now.”⁵⁷

Those who consented to continue with President Cluff were Joseph Adams, John Fairbanks, Paul Henning, Asa Kienke, Walter Tolton, Heber Magleby, Chester Van Buren, and Walter Wolfe. After President Smith left, the expeditioners ate their last meal together as a group. Asa Kienke recorded that “Eyes were wet and sobs were heard: then we lined up those who were going on South on one side and those who were going home on the other; then we passed them by and shook hands, bidding them *goodbye*. I wept like a child and so did most of the others.”⁵⁸

On to Zarahemla

After the emotional departure of most of the company for Provo, the remaining expedition members prepared to enter Mexico and continue their explorations. With fewer men and less equipment, Cluff had a much easier time posting bond for

53. Diary of Asa Kienke, 12 August 1900.

54. Ibid.

55. Diary of Heber Magleby, 12 August 1900.

56. Smith to Snow and Cannon, 12 August 1900, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

57. Cluff to Brimhall, 13 August 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

58. Diary of Asa Kienke, 12 August 1900.



Expeditioners who continued south from Nogales (Walter Tolton not shown): Joseph Adams, Walter Wolfe, Asa Kienke, Heber Magleby, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Chester Van Buren, John B. Fairbanks, and Paul Henning.

customs. The party intended to follow the Mormon settlements as far south as they could. They first reached Oaxaca, where they were welcomed as they had been in Mormon settlements in the United States. Almost everyone in the party had friends from home living in the Mexican settlements, and Cluff permitted the men to take time out for visits. By September 12 the expedition reached Garcia, last of the Mormon colonies. Though expedition members were sad to leave the Mormon settlements, they were happy to leave Florence Cluff behind and go on with their exploring. Asa Kienke wrote, "Farewell, *Sister Cluff*, fare thee well. Oh happy day, thou has come at last when from females we are free."⁵⁹

The expedition moved easily through northern Mexico. Lush vegetation covered the verdant hillsides. Feed for the animals was plentiful, and campsites could be made at almost any place on the trail. Wild fowl and deer were in such abundance that fresh meat was brought into camp every day. The party camped near large haciendas where they were often guests. Unfortunately, the pleasant journey was interrupted on September 26 when Paul Henning woke up at four o'clock in the morning in excruciating pain from an almost lethal reptile or scorpion bite. After Walter Wolfe injected him with morphine to alleviate the pain, the men "anointed and administered to him. He seemed to rest easier and we retired again."⁶⁰ By morning Henning was much better, though he felt very weak. A few hours on the trail proved too much for him, and Wolfe was asked to remain behind and nurse Henning back to health and then catch up with the main party. In the future, when illness threatened to hinder the progress of the group, the sick were to be left behind. Aware of the expedition's itinerary, those left behind could catch up with the main party as soon as they were well enough to travel.

Besides physical difficulties, the journey south was marred by personal conflicts which detracted from the unity of the party. Some members had covert misgivings about the expe-

59. Ibid., 13 September 1900.

60. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 27 September 1900.

dition. Chester Van Buren received a letter from his close friend Tom Higgs, who had departed the expedition. Higgs said that the people in Provo "severely criticized the Expedition and denounced it as an ambitious design." Higgs encouraged Van Buren to "come home and abandon this castle in the air."⁶¹ He also told Van Buren that President Cluff had not authorized the refund of \$30 that he had promised to the boys who returned to Provo.⁶² Van Buren's anger at President Cluff for his treatment of Higgs rendered him useless to the expedition until he confronted Cluff with the problem on October 2. Cluff assured him that "the boys will be paid as soon as possible."⁶³ Van Buren returned to his tent with renewed confidence in President Cluff's integrity. Though many personal conflicts between expedition members were not so easily resolved, the men nevertheless worked together to overcome the hardships of the journey. Cluff was confident that "the Lord interposed after giving us a chastisement and a needed lesson, and we are permitted with his approval to proceed."⁶⁴

In October the party traversed the Sierra Madre Mountains. As the country became more rugged, travel became more difficult. Food supplies steadily diminished,⁶⁵ game was scarce, and mail bringing funds from home was slow in arriving. Popular support for the expedition was diminishing, making it difficult to secure financial help from outside sources. Brimhall wrote from Provo that "So far as the church is concerned, the expedition has been disbanded and . . .

61. Ibid., 30 September 1900.

62. At the beginning of the expedition, each member had put up \$100 to be used for expenses. Upon dissolution of the group at Nogales, Cluff promised the returning members that \$30 or \$40 would be refunded to them upon their return to Provo. The rest of the \$100 was to be refunded later (*see* Van Buren and Kienke diaries for 15 and 16 August 1900).

63. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 2 October 1900.

64. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Joseph Keeler and George Brimhall, 20 September 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

65. Van Buren sometimes spent as much as four hours a day picking weevil out of the flour before the party could cook.

whatever is being done is now a private enterprise. The people are not content with looking upon it as a school enterprise even." He assured Cluff, however, that the "feeling will all wear off."⁶⁶ Aware of the expedition's financial difficulty, Cluff authorized Acting President Brimhall to sell his valuable library. Brimhall was unable to get much money for the books, and the expeditioners traveled on shortened rations.⁶⁷

As the expedition moved toward Mexico City, President Cluff decided to split the party into two groups, one to visit the White Indians on the Mayo River, the other to head southwest to the ocean. This would allow more opportunities for exploration and exposure to the culture of the area. The division proved beneficial to both groups. Van Buren and others collected plants and animal skins whenever possible and shipped them to the Academy, even though the groups moved too fast to collect everything they encountered. Kienke wrote, "On we went, passing 25 different kinds of trees, but no time to get them. *Only passing by.*"⁶⁸

Forced marches made Sundays even more important. In Van Buren's words, "No place is the Sabbath looked forward to with more expectancy than in our camp, and as the Saturday afternoon wears away each hill and valley is scanned and the searching eye tries to find the place where we may spend pleasantly the day of rest."⁶⁹ As the two groups moved on, they enjoyed the hospitality of American plantation owners who generally invited them to spend the night. President Cluff was especially impressed by the plantations, viewing them as a possible future business venture. Many times the

66. Brimhall to Cluff, 4 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

67. Cluff to Brimhall, 23 November 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. On November 30 Cluff wrote Brimhall, "We eat bread but once a day and we do not afford baking powder, but rather use sour dough or flour and water. In every way possible we cut down expenses. We will have enough to take us to the City of Guatemala or perhaps beyond. If, however, you can send us some [money] to the City of Mexico so much the better, if not, well and good" (Cluff Presidential Papers).

68. Diary of Asa Kienke, 11 October 1900.

69. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 14 October 1900.

plantation owners furnished the company with guides and supplies to visit ruins in the vicinity.

As the parties headed toward the rendezvous area northwest of Mexico City, food and money again became scarce. The men were forced to live off the land and purchase what little they could from the natives. Many nights they had only cornmeal or beans mixed with water for supper. Hunger became a daily companion. Even so, the men remained optimistic. Van Buren wrote, "What we have endured, what trials of mind, and weariness of body, what anxiety what joy and pleasure are now given to the past. The present is ours and all is well. What we will yet endure, what scenes, what experiences we will pass through are yet hidden in the future."⁷⁰

Reunion at Mazatlan

The party reunited at Mazatlan on 26 November 1900. An extended stay in the port town did much to rejuvenate sagging spirits, and the men could have stayed longer, but Cluff gave orders to move out and make an attempt to reach Mexico City by early January. The expeditioners moved toward Mexico City, traveling rapidly through disease-infested areas. One evening as President Cluff was clearing a place for his cot, he stood up startled with a large scorpion "hanging on his little finger."⁷¹ His arm was swollen in a matter of minutes. Wolfe poured a concoction of mescal on the bite, and after administration from the priesthood Cluff was put to bed. The same evening Walter Tolton became seriously ill. To make matters worse, Wolfe, while running around the dark camp looking for medicines to allay Cluff's pain, fell into a ditch and severely wrenched his knee. That evening three men retired in pain, and the expeditioners christened the place "Camp Accident."⁷²

By morning Cluff's little finger was completely dead, and

70. Ibid., 25 November 1900.

71. Diary of Asa Kienke, 13 December 1900.

72. Diary of Chester Van Buren, 13 December 1900.

his entire body felt numb, but he wished to travel. That afternoon camp had to be made early because Wolfe was lame. Tolton felt worse than the night before, and Cluff was suffering from a number of problems: his eyes would not focus, water tasted to him like bitter lemon, and any pressure applied to his body produced a “discharge of nervous force.”⁷³

A good night’s rest greatly improved both body and spirit, and the company pushed on to Guadalajara, Mexico’s second largest city. Meals were, for a welcome change, taken at restaurants, and the men slept in comfortable hotel beds. After a full day of sightseeing and basking in the luxuries of civilization, they prepared to move on to Mexico City. For Professor Wolfe, the departure from civilization was distasteful.⁷⁴

Christmas was near, and Sunday December 23 was spent in special meetings. Wolfe asked to be prayed for, since he was “in doubt in regards to several things.” President Cluff expressed his determination to press onward, saying “that we would cross the *Isthmus* and would see Valparaiso if those placed in authority over us did not call a halt.”⁷⁵ Christmas Eve brought the little band heavy hearts as thoughts turned to home, family, and Christmas traditions. The men hung up Christmas stockings and went to bed. In the morning, everyone discovered that each person had placed something in the stocking of the others and that President Cluff had given each expeditioner a silver dollar. The men prepared a Christmas meal from their scant provisions. Since wood was scarce, the company was forced to use buffalo chips for warmth and cooking.

73. Ibid., 14 December 1900.

74. Kienke recorded that the group soon ran into a rainstorm. Professor Wolfe had lost the cape to his coat and was getting wet. When Kienke and the others found the cape, they took it to Wolfe and asked, “‘Have you lost your coat?’ ‘Well I guess I have.’ Then we hand or go to hand him it and he says, ‘I wish I could lose the expedition.’ We hand him it and he says, ‘And not find it as soon as this.’ He is out of sorts” (Diary of Asa Kienke, 18 December 1900). Wolfe was probably jealous because Cluff had allowed Fairbanks to board a train and travel ahead of the party to Mexico City to paint until the rest of the group arrived.

75. Diary of Heber Magleby, 23 December 1900.

Despite attempts to enjoy a unified Christmas, personal problems continued to bother expedition members. Henning was without money, and Cluff was temporarily unable to get him a small loan from the Academy. Van Buren and Cluff had another sharp exchange of words which upset the whole camp. More seriously, Walter Wolfe was on the verge of returning home. "He gets down easily," wrote Cluff, "and has the blues most terribly. Then everything is wrong: the school, the Church, and the expedition."⁷⁶ As Wolfe became more depressed, arrangements were "made for him to go on until we reach the Isthmus."⁷⁷ Meanwhile, Cluff was having increased financial difficulties. The money he was receiving was totally inadequate. He asked Brimhall to give his family at home only what they needed and send the rest to the expedition. In spite of personal and financial problems, President Cluff maintained confidence in the success of the expedition: "We may not find anything startling. We may not unearth any great cities, but we will make the trip, we will see the country in which the Nephites flourished, and will bring much useful knowledge to the Academy and the people. On the other hand we may find Zarahemla. I have full faith that we will, but if we only make the journey, then we will have succeeded."⁷⁸

South from Mexico City

The party arrived in Mexico City on January 11, and Cluff allowed a week's stay for rest, study, and sightseeing. In addition to visiting museums, art galleries, and historical points of interest, many of the expeditioners received their first mail for many months. President Cluff gathered all the specimens that had been collected and sent them to the Academy. On January 18 the party reluctantly packed up and headed eastward, encountering heat, humidity, and other tropical condi-

76. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 6 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

77. Cluff to Brimhall, 15 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

78. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Joseph Keeler, 12 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

tions that wore down the men and their animals.

Nevertheless, the farther south the party traveled, the stronger Cluff and others felt the proximity of ancient Nephite civilizations. On February 24 Cluff wrote George Brimhall.

Geographically we entered Central America and Tehuantepec, and, we think, entered the land of the Book of Mormon at the same place. Many of our brethren . . . think that Hagoth had his ship yards on the gulf of Tehuantepec. . . . One thing is certain . . . there are remains of many cities . . . that must be very ancient. . . . Over the country we now travel lived many a happy Nephite family. . . . I am impressed more and more with the importance of this work, and I feel that our brethren at home will soon come to see it. . . . I only ask that you and Bro. Keeler do not waver, do not lose courage. There is a revolution in Columbia. It may or may not be over by the time we get there, but I ask that you see to it that no great scare is raised that will call us home. Along the Magdalena [River in Colombia] we shall do our most important work.⁷⁹

At one February Sunday meeting, "Each member of the group . . . promised to treat the others to a sumptuous banquet upon arriving at certain locations. For example Kienke at the ruins of Bountiful, Adams at the site of Zarahemla, and Magleby would treat when the group reached Valparaiso, Chile."⁸⁰

However, Zarahemla, Bountiful, and the rest of the land of the Nephites were forced into the background as travel in the tropics began to weaken the morale of the expedition. Learning of problems at home, J. B. Fairbanks could not decide whether he should return home with Wolfe upon reaching Guatemala. With Wolfe about to leave, the party could not afford to lose such a valuable member as Fairbanks. According to Tolton, Fairbanks "desired we all fast and pray, that we

79. Cluff to Brimhall, 24 February 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

80. Diary of Asa Kienke, 10 February 1901.

might know [the] mind and will of the Lord. We did so. . . . Eight in favor of him continuing on and one in favor of him returning. His mind was now at ease and he decided to continue on."⁸¹ In the same week, the men heard from Acting President Brimhall that Karl G. Maeser had died. As the men reminisced about Professor Maeser, it appeared that the closer the expedition came to South America the more the difficulties of the journey overwhelmed them.

Before proceeding further, Cluff again divided the party into two groups, one to remain on the main road to Guatemala, the other to take a side excursion to some ancient ruins to the southeast. They planned to rendezvous at the Guatemala border around March 20. The group remaining behind scoured the countryside, acquiring tropical birds and other unusual biological specimens. Cluff instructed them to secure as many specimens as possible, prepare them, and ship them to the Academy for exhibition. In addition to supervising field activities, Wolfe gave daily lessons on history, archeology, and the Book of Mormon.

Cluff, Magleby, Kienke, and Henning obtained information on their side trip to the ruins of Palanque. The trip was, however, not without incident. When they arrived at a river, Cluff "found that the canoe was on the other side." He "volunteered to swim to the canoe. Hardly had I entered the swift moving current when my drawers slipped down and hobbled me effectively. I could not kick myself loose and was being carried to the rapids below. I made a surface dive and ripped the garment from my ankles just in time. It was most probably ill advised to attempt to swim the river handicapped with underwear. However, I finally made it and brought back the canoe."⁸² The party reunited at Comitán on the Guatemala border and proceeded on to Guatemala City.

Difficulties in Guatemala

On the difficult trip to Guatemala City, Henning, Kienke,

81. Diary of Walter Tolton, 24 February 1901.

82. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 127. *See also* Magleby and

and Adams became ill. Deficient supplies made the situation worse. Unable to forage off the land, Cluff's party soon learned that even the natives were near starvation. After walking all day, Tolton once "bought three tortillas from an Indian for 12 cents. When he was giving them to me, half-starved children stood around gazing on. I felt conscience stricken in permitting myself to take from them, as I thought, 'what would I do were my children in the same circumstances.'"⁸³ Henning, who had been too ill to travel, was left behind with instructions to catch up with the main party in two days. When he did not rejoin the expedition after four days, the others decided to move on without him, hoping he would rejoin them later. Kienke and Adams were still seriously ill, but they refused to be left behind.

When they reached Santa Cruz de la Quiche, the expeditioners met soldiers who surrounded them, confiscated their arms, and herded them off to jail where they remained until they could present their credentials. In the middle of April the voyagers finally reached Guatemala City, where they found letters and money from home. The men stayed at Guatemala City for a few days, buying provisions and recuperating. While there, Cluff called a series of planning meetings. Walter Wolfe had originally planned to stay with the expedition until it reached Panama, but he decided to leave the party in Guatemala City. Joseph Adams was too ill to travel. He decided to stay in Guatemala and help Van Buren collect biological specimens. When fully recovered, Adams was to return home from Guatemala City. Paul Henning, who had been left in Mexico, never rejoined the expedition, though he continued to correspond with George Brimhall. He later became a prominent teacher and explorer in Mexico.⁸⁴ The original nine who left Nogales some eight months before were now reduced to six, with Chester Van Buren remaining in Guatemala to collect artifacts and

Kienke diaries for 12 March 1901.

83. Diary of Walter Tolton, 5 April 1901.

84. Adams remained in Guatemala for some time, working at a wharf to earn enough money to pay for his passage home.

animals.⁸⁵ Before the main party continued the trek to Colombia, the group met together for the last time in a fast and testimony meeting. From Guatemala City, Cluff and Tolton went east to visit ruins while the others traveled on to Colombia. Cluff's excursion to the ruins of Quiregua was even more rewarding than his trip to Palanque. En route, Cluff and Tolton met Dr. George Byron Gordon, who was on an archeological expedition sponsored by Harvard University. Familiar with the area, he graciously served as a guide. Gordon's Harvard expedition was obviously better outfitted than Cluff's Brigham Young Academy company. Gordon's table was laden with ham, chicken, corn, and chocolate. Cluff attempted to interest him in the Mormon view of Central American archeology, but he remained rather skeptical.

Mr. Lowe, an American plantation owner, also cordially hosted Cluff and Tolton. He suggested that the Mormons should consider colonizing his plantation, guaranteeing he would "deed free double the amount we could put under cultivation at the expiration of 13 years."⁸⁶ Although Cluff apparently did not record his reaction to Lowe's offer, his later activities in Latin America proved that he was very interested in Lowe's ideas.

After completing their excursion to the ruins, Cluff and Tolton started south to overtake Kienke, Magleby, and Fairbanks. They were delayed when some local authorities arrested them on suspicion of murder. With the help of Henry Hyde, a Catholic priest who acted as translator and who previously had been in Utah and enjoyed his stay among the Mormons, they were released. The priest then directed the two men to their waiting companions. Another confrontation with the police motivated the group to pack their mules and leave the area as soon as possible. They paid their respects to the local authorities and set out for Colombia.

The farther south they went, the harder their journey be-

85. Van Buren's collections and observations proved to be the most valuable contributions of the entire expedition.

86. Diary of Walter Tolton, 20 April 1901.

came. During their thirty-seven day trip to Colombia, they were beset by heavy rains, mud, and sickness. Disease killed most of the mules, and fever plagued the men. As the party neared Honduras, Fairbanks decided to go ahead, feeling his time could be better spent painting in Colombia than trudging through the hostile Central American jungle. Magleby, totally incapacitated with fever, stayed behind with Tolton while Cluff and Kienke pushed on to Panama. In a few weeks, Magleby regained sufficient strength to continue. As he and Tolton prepared to take a boat to overtake Cluff and Kienke, a yellow fever quarantine prevented them from boarding ship. They hired two negroes to paddle them past the harbor patrol at night. They reached the boat safely, though they were fired upon.

Arriving in Panama City, Tolton and Magleby met Chester Van Buren, who had been instructed by Cluff to meet the expedition there. The three spent the night discussing their experience after the group had split up. Two weeks later, on September 14, Cluff and Kienke finally entered Panama City.⁸⁷

Colombia at Last

Relieved to be together again, the men eagerly set out for the Magdalena River. Notwithstanding more muddy roads, difficulties with the police, and trouble from the natives, the party moved on, deciding again to split into two groups. One group was to continue exploring the countryside. The second group, composed of Tolton and Van Buren, was to take side trips to collect specimens and prepare them for shipment. Arriving in Colombia, Cluff contacted the American consul, hoping to secure protection for the company as they traveled through the disrupted country toward Peru. Unfortunately, the government could not offer help to the explorers. The officials warned Cluff that if the expedition attempted the trip

87. For an account of their experience during this part of the journey, *see* Asa Kienke's diary and the Roberts and Cluff biography, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 141-54.

their goods and supplies would probably be confiscated, and they would probably be killed by the insurgents.

It had been 632 days since the twenty-one-man expedition had left Provo and 559 days since the group of nine had left Nogales. Three of those nine had turned back, and only six had completed the journey. The men had endured malnutrition, hunger, poisonous bites, tropical diseases, imprisonment by soldiers, narrow escapes from drowning, and threats to their lives in order to reach Colombia. But now even President Cluff was stymied. Supplies had run out, and their mules were dead. Like Moses, who was permitted to view but not enter the Promised Land, Cluff was forced to turn back from the threshold of the land of Zarahemla.

The group unanimously accepted the decision of their leader to disband the expedition and return home. It was, however, decided that Van Buren's work was of such an exceptional nature that he should remain behind and continue collecting specimens. He had proven himself to be a real scientist who was willing to withstand all kinds of privation and remain alone in a strange country for an indefinite period of time to accomplish his task. On 8 January 1902 the five weary men sailed from Colombia to Texas by way of Cuba. In Texas they caught a train back to Salt Lake City. Their homecoming attracted attention throughout the area, and the men related their adventures to many civic and church groups.

Appraisal of the Cluff Expedition

While the Cluff Expedition did not find Zarahemla, it was a monument to men who were determined to vindicate the beliefs of the Church and to glorify Brigham Young Academy. Nothing can detract from the courageous sacrifice of the whole company. Even though the expedition failed to achieve its stated purpose, the dedicated expeditioners nevertheless made important contributions to the Academy. In his own evaluation of the expedition, written on 3 March 1947, some forty-five years after his return from Colombia

and shortly before his death, Cluff listed six major accomplishments. In his words, the expedition

1. Served to open to the Mormon people a knowledge of the countries on the South where they believe the ancient Nephites and Lamanites lived.
2. Created a scientific interest in Central and South America so that students most likely have been stimulated to carry on researches there.
3. Collected and shipped to the Brigham Young University valuable specimens of the flora and fauna of Central and northern South America, which must have proved interesting and instructive to students of tropical countries. These specimens may be of increasing value in the future.
4. Probably furnished some evidence to corroborate the theory of Anthony Ivins and other Book of Mormon authorities that the narrow neck of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon as being "a Sabbath day's" journey for a Nephite from sea to sea, is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.
5. Helped to increase the interest in the ancient ruins of Central and South America and to stimulate scholars to do all they can to date the construction of those ruins. I was confident that the ruins of Palenque and others of that period were not of the Nephites. However, recent discoveries have made me doubtful of my former conclusions.
6. Perhaps served many other useful purposes which we cannot think of at present. It was a hard trip and the men who made it became deeply attached to each other. The work accomplished by Chester Van Buren, Paul Henning, J. B. Fairbanks, Walter Tilton, Asa Kienke, and Heber Magleby cannot be praised too much.⁸⁸

Cluff, like the man of La Mancha, dreamed an "impossible dream" that excited the imagination of school and Church leaders alike. Except for the revolution in Colombia, he may

88. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 162-63.

still have succeeded in exploring South America and discovering Zarahemla. With the benefit of hindsight, it is possible to make several observations about matters that may have contributed to the difficulties encountered by the Cluff Expedition:

1. The contemplated project was too ambitious to be accomplished by the small group even if circumstances had been more favorable. Nevertheless, the high aspirations of the expeditioners were not forgotten. During the Wilkinson Administration, Brigham Young University established a full-time archeological staff in Latin America.

2. In the beginning, too much encouragement was given the project without sufficient investigation of the importance of careful planning, preparation, and supervision of such an ambitious undertaking. Preparations for the expedition were made in less than four months. The group selected did not include enough trained archeologists, geologists, mineralogists, botanists, zoologists, and other specialists to properly accomplish their mission. Furthermore, diplomatic arrangements should have been made with other countries before the explorers left Provo.

3. From the start the expedition suffered from insufficient funds. Cluff apparently did not ask for Church appropriation to finance the exploration, and, in view of the Church's strained financial condition, it is doubtful that such a request would have been granted. The Brigham Young Academy budget was insufficient to support a scientific expedition along with the school's regular academic coursework.

4. Once under way, the expedition lacked the continuous discipline that would have held it together. Unlike the firm but kindly discipline of Maeser, Cluff's discipline was inconsistent, sometimes untimely, and not always followed by compassion and love. Cluff's frequent absence from the party caused morale problems and misgivings about his leadership.

5. Heber J. Grant's unfavorable evaluation of the expedition may have been colored by his lack of confidence in Cluff which arose from his fear that Cluff was introducing too much secularism into the Academy curriculum. Grant was opposed

to the expedition's continuance because he did not feel the boys had comported themselves as they should and because he felt the General Authorities should not have approved the expedition in the first place. Cluff told President Joseph F. Smith that the reports of misconduct were exaggerated, but Cluff himself had reprimanded the boys on several occasions. And, since the Church maintains no doctrine of infallibility, the Brethren had the right to evaluate and reconsider the support they had initially given the expedition.

6. The hardships and sufferings of the trip would have been avoided if Cluff and his associates had followed the advice of the Brethren given through President Smith. They were clearly warned of the dangers a small group could encounter in Latin America, even the risk of losing their lives. That they were unable to reach their destination was the very thing that Elder Grant feared. However, President Smith did not forbid them from proceeding on their own. Cluff's intense desire to push on probably caused him to interpret President Smith's permission for him to continue as implied approval of Cluff's desire to go on. President Smith's promise to Kienke that he would be blessed if he did what was right and his comment to Magleby that the expeditioners might do more good on this trip than they could do in the mission field could easily have been interpreted as approval.

The greatest tragedy of the expedition was not what it failed to do but what it did to President Cluff. Cluff's decision to continue the expedition was like Caesar's decision to cross the Rubicon. Just as Caesar's decision left him no alternative but to go on to Rome and fight, Cluff's decision limited his future opportunities. The deeper he penetrated in the southern hemisphere, the farther he withdrew from his career as an educator. His experience whetted his appetite for further exploration. When he resigned as president of Brigham Young University, Cluff returned to Mexico to oversee Noble Warrum's large rubber plantation at Tabasco, Mexico. Because his family could not endure the heat and political unrest in Mexico, Cluff did not renew his contract as plantation manager. He returned to Utah after five years in Mexico.



"On the Magdalena River in South America," one of several display cases built by Chester Van Buren to house specimens collected by members of the Cluff Expedition.

Warrum's plantation was confiscated by the Mexican Government in 1912. Cluff returned to Mexico in 1913 to promote a variety of banana trees which would yield vinegar.⁸⁹ Success again eluded him as general unrest in the country made it impossible for him to carry on commerce in any fashion. He had additional opportunities to engage himself in exploration for oil and in mahogany lumbering, but the same situations plagued him. Had conditions been different in Mexico during these tumultuous years, Cluff may have become one of the wealthy plantation owners of Central America and could have financed another expedition to return to Latin America in search of Zarahemla.⁹⁰

89. Ibid., pp. 209-13.

90. Ibid., pp. 193-216.

11

Sailing into the Wind: 1900-1902

As the Cluff Expedition headed southward into Mexico, public excitement subsided and Brigham Young Academy settled back into its normal routine. President 'Cluff had commended the Academy to Divine Providence and to George Henry Brimhall, acting principal. In view of the accomplishments of Maeser and Cluff, Brimhall's assignment was challenging. Though he was not an an educated man in the academic sense, his phenomenal dedication to work and his ability to communicate with the people of Utah County were invaluable assets to the Academy. He was an articulate spokesman for education. Men of intelligence respected him, and rustic people understood him.

Early Life

George Washington Brimhall and Rachael Ann Mayer Brimhall were married in Salt Lake City in 1852. George Washington, politician, educator, and church leader, was a man of considerable reputation in pioneer Utah, and his strong personality powerfully influenced his son George Henry Brimhall. Popular among his peers, George Washington Brimhall often addressed small groups, and, when he

participated in the Iron County mission of 1850, he acted as spokesman for the group in letters written to Salt Lake City.¹ He was elected to represent Iron County in the legislative assembly at Salt Lake City in 1852. His friends called him "The Buckskin Orator."² While serving in the legislature, he at no time "stepped aside from charity and gentlemanly decorum."³ There was a strain of elegance and egotistical dash in his writing which later characterized his educator son.

George Henry Brimhall, born 9 December 1852, was described by his father as "a puny little boy." In 1854 the Brimhalls moved to Ogden where George W. Brimhall worked as schoolteacher. He said that he "labored with all the zeal and determination of a Polander for liberty, and at the same time I was a member of the City Council."⁴ Having been taught to read and write by his mother, George Henry had his first exposure to formal education in Ogden:

When a lad of Seven summers, I was sent to drive the cows to pasture, and I found a school boy who . . . led me to a new world, a little private school. I forgot all else and was awakened from my dream of perfect satisfaction by the voice of my overjoyed mother who, thinking me drowned or carried off by Indians, had found me sharing a ragged book with my new found acquaintance. . . . Home I went and next morning my father said, "Your mother and I have decided to send you to school." My mental exclamation, "I'll go without being sent" is almost ringing in my ears now.⁵

Education, Marriage, and Early Political Activity

The Brimhall family later moved to Spanish Fork, and at the age of eighteen George H. Brimhall began attending

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1. Journal History, 25 May 1851, Church Historical Department.
 2. George Washington Brimhall, *Workers of Utah* (Provo, Utah: Enquirer Co., 1899), p. 19.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., p. 34.
 5. "Pedagogical History of the Brigham Young Academy Class of '93," typescript of original unprinted manuscript in George Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives, p. 2.



George Henry Brimhall, president
of Brigham Young University
from 1904 to 1921.

the so-called "Timpanogos University," a high school under the principalship of Hon. W. N. Dusenberry at Provo. Walked on Monday morning or Sunday eve 12 miles from my home in Spanish Fork to school. Worked for my benefactor [Principal Dusenberry] for part of my board. Did janitorial work for my tuition and at the close of my course gave the valedictory address with considerable vehemence, I presume, as for the first time *I was applauded* although my pants were patched.⁶

Times were hard, and Brimhall's parents once paid his tuition for a term at the Timpanogos Branch with a side of beef. While attending school, he worked as assistant to George Carson, a teacher in the Spanish Fork common school. Brimhall continued to attend the Timpanogos Branch until 1872, when, with the encouragement of Warren Dusenberry, he returned to Spanish Fork to be a teacher.⁷ In 1874 he obtained a county teachers certificate. He did not pass brilliantly, but he passed, scoring highest in reading and "written arithmetic" (80%) and lowest in geography and penmanship (40% and 60%).⁸

In December 1874 he married Alsina Elizabeth Wilkins of Spanish Fork in the Salt Lake City Endowment House. Six children were born to the couple: Lucy Jane, Alsina Elizabeth, George Washington, Mark Henry, Wells Lovett, and Milton Albert. While in Spanish Fork, Brimhall was active in civic affairs, following his father's penchant for politics. In February 1875 he was elected city marshal, though he was soon released for an unknown reason.⁹ He was later appointed "auditor of accounts" for two terms; the first from 1876 to 1878; the second from 1880 to 1883.¹⁰

6. Ibid., p. 3.

7. John Henry Evans, "Some Men Who Have Done Things: George H. Brimhall," *Improvement Era* 13 (March 1910): 403.

8. Teachers Certificate on file in George H. Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives.

9. "History of Spanish Fork," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (April 1884): 165.

10. Ibid., pp. 166-68.

Brimhall helped organize a literary and debating society at which a small pioneer group read essays they had written. The articles were printed in a kind of manuscript newsletter. The same group went into the mountains and procured sufficient timber to build a nineteen by twenty-five foot schoolhouse, which they proudly called "The Young Men's Academy."¹¹ "They selected me their teacher at \$3.00 each," wrote Brimhall, "and I was elevated by my boyhood companions to the position of Principal." The group "worked together seeking truth and found it even with our primitive appliances."¹²

While Territorial Superintendent of Schools O. H. Riggs found much to criticize in Utah County schools at the beginning of 1875, he praised Brimhall's "Young Men's Academy" at Spanish Fork:

The select school, taught by Mr. Geo. H. Brimhall, is in fine condition. The house in which he teaches was built by the enterprising young men of Spanish Fork for literary purposes, which is very much to their credit. It is comfortably furnished with homemade desks to accommodate about fifty students, every seat being filled with appreciative students, who are advanced in the common branches of education, and who fully realize the advantages they have of being instructed by a teacher of superior ability.¹³

In 1876 Brimhall, who had been involved in every major educational event in Utah County between 1870 and 1875, decided to attend Brigham Young Academy. Little is known about his performance as a student; he is not mentioned as a special instructor or assistant during the time he attended. He is on record for attending the spring term of 1876, the fall term of 1876-77, and the winter term of 1878-79. Since he was older than most other students and since he was already a

11. Elisha Warner, *The History of Spanish Fork* (Spanish Fork, Utah: Spanish Fork Press, 1930), pp. 210-11.

12. "Pedagogical History of Class of 1893," p. 3.

13. *Journal History*, 27 February 1875 (letter to *Deseret News* from O. H. Riggs).

teacher, he may not have been involved in all the activities of the school.¹⁴

Speaking of his studies at the Timpanogos Branch and Brigham Young Academy, Brimhall wrote, "Judge Dusenberry showed me the road to higher education, but Karl G. Maeser showed me the way to a higher life." The Academy smoothed off some of Brimhall's rough edges. Maeser taught him that a good teacher needed more than just a "knack" for teaching. He began to see that "education was a *science* and teaching an *art*." ¹⁵

In 1877 he graduated from the Maeser school with one of the county's first normal diplomas, and at the age of twenty-five Brimhall became principal of schools in Spanish Fork.¹⁶ He received honey, wheat, and cheese as tuition from his students.¹⁷ Little is known about him during this period, the renown of Brigham Young Academy tending to eclipse other county schools.

By 1880 Brimhall had become prominent in Utah County education, though his scores on the teachers examination were still unimpressive.¹⁸ In 1883 he was elected district superintendent of Utah County schools.¹⁹ This new position required him to make long and often difficult visits on horseback or by buggy throughout the 2,000 square miles of the pioneer district. As district superintendent, Brimhall worked with all the educators in Utah Valley and many in Salt Lake

14. The cipher "spec. Ex. no recd." appears by his name on the 1878-79 school register. From similar notations, it appears that Brimhall was designated as a student attending school to prepare himself to take the exam for a normal certificate (Register of Students, 1878-79, in vault of BYU registrar's office.).

15. "Pedagogical History of Class of 1893," p. 3.

16. Edward M. Rowe, "Dr. George H. Brimhall," George Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives, p. 5. categories tested in the 1880 exam

17. George H. Brimhall, "Glimpses," *Utah Educational Review* 24 (April 1931): 367.

18. Brimhall averaged 83% in the six categories tested in the 1880 exam (George H. Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives). Maeser and Cluff scored around 100% on the same exam.

19. Utah County Teachers Association Minutes, 16 June 1887, in vault of Provo City School District Office, Provo, Utah.

City. He associated with Wilson Dusenberry and his brother Warren.²⁰

Brimhall worked in the Sunday School program with local stake officials, and together with Milton Hardy, perhaps his most intimate friend at this time, he spent long hours traveling and lecturing for the Mutual Improvement Association.²¹ Brimhall and Hardy published a number of scriptural analyses for MIA students in the 1889 volume of the *Contributor Magazine*.²² In 1890 the Utah County Teachers Association elected Brimhall president and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., vice-president. As co-workers in the teachers association, Cluff and Brimhall cultivated a friendship which had begun in the Maeser school.²³ Cluff evidently liked the energetic older man, and the two served together on the local board of examiners.

Brimhall's increasing popularity as an educator influenced him to move from Spanish Fork to Provo, the center of Utah County education. In 1885 he accepted an offer to head the Provo community schools.²⁴ Many Spanish Fork citizens objected to Brimhall's move. One of his students recollected years later that he "went home and attacked my father and asked if we were so cheap a community that we couldn't afford a good man to conduct our school — and Pa put his hand on my shoulder and replied in substance, 'My boy, you'll know someday that the ability of G. H. Brimhall to do good must be given a broader and bigger field.'"²⁵

Brimhall's natural talent, not his formal training, accounted

20. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 8 January 1885, typescript of original in BYU Archives.

21. Ibid., 24 January 1885. A committee which included both Cluff and Brimhall was formed in October 1885 to write an MIA manual (Journal of George H. Brimhall, 14 October 1885).

22. The articles, published in the "Association Intelligence" section of the *Contributor*, began in December 1888 and ran through June 1889.

23. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 17 January 1885.

24. Ibid., 12 October 1885.

25. Heber C. Jex to George H. Brimhall, 10 November 1905, George H. Brimhall Presidential Papers, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Brimhall Presidential Papers).

for his success and popularity as a teacher. Although he was interested in literature, he did not read avidly or spend much time in study. A good listener, he recorded in detail the comments of speakers whose wisdom he prized; his notes from general conference covered many pages. Brimhall had a passion for *sententia*, and his notebooks were filled with gems or “gleanings,” as he called them, which reflected an extraordinary ability to condense thought into a simple, poignant phrase. His were the ideas of a conversationalist rather than an academician, as indicated by the following excerpts from his journal:

7 January 1889. Much of mind depends upon culture. Even the reasoning faculties are held in the bonds of imbecility by neglect and inactivity.

8 January 1889. Necessity often makes the difficulty of doing difficult things a pleasure. Men are glad to get the chance to shovel 10 tons of coal for 85 cents.

10 January 1889. People are more considerate of things than people. Proof: they say little of things except what they know, but of persons they speak without knowledge.

Politically, Brimhall was an avowed partisan. He wrote that “a traitor is one who will scratch a ticket gotten up by his party.”²⁶ A staunch Republican, he opposed round dancing, drinking, and swearing, which he described as despicably low expressions of behavior.²⁷ Short thoughts written in his diary reflected Brimhall’s deep spiritual concern and occasional disappointment with himself and others.²⁸ His moral disposition was manifest in his later administrative decisions and in his stirring lectures to students. He was clearly a man of deep emotions, and they played a significant role in his presidency.

26. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 22 February 1885.

27. General Board Minutes, 26 October 1904, Church Historical Department.

28. The following are representative samplings of his spiritual observations:

Brigham Young Academy Student, Teacher, and Administrator

Some time in 1890 Abraham O. Smoot offered Brimhall a position on the Brigham Young Academy faculty. Since President Smoot's proposal was made as a Church assignment, there was little question that Brimhall would accept, even though his salary was only twenty dollars per month.²⁹ He joined the faculty in the fall of 1891. Despite his low salary, there were advantages in accepting a position at the Academy. Almost in his fortieth year, Brimhall had to begin work on his college degree if he ever expected to get one. By studying at Brigham Young Academy under Professor Cluff, Brimhall could postpone the inconvenience, expense, and privation of going east to college. During the course of the next two years Brimhall read psychology and pedagogy under Cluff, at the same time heading the Intermediate Department and Preparatory School at the Academy.³⁰

Both Brimhall's pedagogical talents and his administrative skills were useful to the school. Owing to his MIA experience and his background in the public schools, he soon became one of the Academy's most popular lecturers. During 1892 his spare time was occupied with speaking engagements outside the school. Brimhall also presided over faculty meetings held by the preparatory and normal teachers. When Cluff became

27 October 1887 Taught school and came near employing corporal punishment; but thanks to God I did not: I was warned in a dream.

22 September 1889 Came from Emer's, thence to Springville, attended a meeting. Partook of sacrament. Noticed a very fashionable young lady in the choir who did not partake. Why?!!!

10 November 1889 I have visited the scenes of my childhood. The mountains seem smaller, and the city has changed. Then, virtue dwelt unmolested and righteousness wielded the scepter of equity. Now, immodesty shows her face by day and shameless licentiousness flouts herself by night. Woe to thee, Ogden!

29. "President George H. Brimhall," *White and Blue*, 22 January 1904.

30. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy and LDS Training College*, 1891-92.

principal of the Academy, Brimhall became principal of the Normal Department, at the same time retaining his position as principal of the Training School.³¹ During this period of almost frenzied activity, he finished the work required for his bachelor's degree in pedagogy. He graduated on 25 May 1893 in BYA's first college commencement. In the same year he was awarded the bachelor of didactics degree by the Church Board of Education.³²

Brimhall seemed to have caught the progressive spirit of the school and its dashing headmaster Benjamin Cluff, who was the source of most of the new educational ideas coming from Provo. In August 1893 Brimhall lectured before the joint teachers institute at Provo. He said there was "a professional wave sweeping over the land, in some places deep and in others shallow." He challenged Utah teachers to "rise on the wave of proficiency and be worthy of our places."³³

In the fall of 1894, when Cluff returned to Ann Arbor to do graduate work, Brimhall became co-acting principal with Joseph B. Keeler.³⁴ He worked late at night, taking little time out for himself or for his family, and he traveled on lecture tours throughout the state.³⁵

Brimhall hoped he would have an opportunity to educate himself properly in psychology and pedagogy. Cluff's letters, which described the rigors and challenges of academic life, kindled Brimhall's desire to leave Provo and go east to study. He originally planned to go as soon as Cluff returned,³⁶ but

31. "President George H. Brimhall," *White and Blue*, p. 2.

32. "Pedagogical History of the Class of 1893," p. 4.

33. "Pedagogues at Provo," *Deseret News*, 17 August 1893.

34. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 29 September 1893. Keeler and Brimhall were both referred to as "acting principals," but it was Brimhall who had Cluff's ear and who did most of the decision making. See letters from Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall dated 5 November 1893, 16 December 1893, 27 December 1893, and 1 January 1894, in Cluff Presidential Papers.

35. Statement of Flora Robertson Brimhall dictated to Minnie I. Hodapp on 31 August 1938, George H. Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives, p. 4.

36. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 12 November 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers.

school responsibilities made that impossible. Cluff suggested that he wait a year until the school was fully organized. However, J. B. Keeler was soon put ahead of Brimhall for the furlough, since Brother Keeler's longer residence at the Academy entitled him "to the first privilege." Cluff said that Brimhall would have to "wait for yet another year."³⁷ Cluff knew that Brimhall wanted to go east to study for two or three years, and he promised to help Brimhall "with all means" in his power. However, Cluff said that the school could not

afford to let both you and bro. K. go. However, the year afterwards your turn will come, and then for two years at least you can be at school without care or responsibility. In the meantime when I return your daily duties can be reduced so that you will have more time for personal study; thus a preparation for a college can be carried on for a year. You need more mathematics, and perhaps a language, French or German, in order that you may pursue College studies profitably.³⁸

The delay proved tragic, however, as Brimhall never attained this level of academic interest again. Outside of a few extended conferences, some tours, and a summer school session, he never did leave the state for educational purposes. Brimhall's lack of formal academic training was to become one of the weaknesses of his administration.

While Cluff was at Ann Arbor, his impatience with the Board of Trustees and the Church Board of Education often found expression in his letters to Brimhall. For a time it was doubted whether he would ever return to the Academy. Consequently, the responsibility for making Academy decisions rested heavily on Brimhall.³⁹ Through it all, however, Cluff

37. Cluff to Brimhall, 29 November 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers.

38. Cluff to Brimhall, 26 December 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers.

39. In a letter to Brimhall dated 4 February 1894, Cluff stated, "You will remember some time ago I suggested that a combination of the Church University and the University of Utah was under contemplation. A letter from Captain Willard Young announces to me that my services in the Church University will not be needed. The Church University will not exist, and force will be centered on the U of U, with

and Brimhall remained loyal to one another. Brimhall noted that "President Cluff has been very kind to me, reposing sufficient confidence in my ability and earnestness to leave the entire institution in my charge during any temporary absence of his." Beyond that, "the General Board has (unasked by me) increased my salary and the Lord has given me health and strength beyond my reasonable expectations."⁴⁰

Cluff always considered Brimhall a capable replacement for himself at the helm of the Academy. Cluff told Brimhall that his "success as a principal has been very marked, so much so that should I leave at the close of the year and go to the University, I am certain that all will be well with the Academy."⁴¹ Cluff knew that if he returned to Provo he could take up the work where he left off "without either jerking things around or overturning any plans" that Brimhall had made.⁴²

Mission to Colorado

In the spring of 1897 Brimhall was called by Elder John W. Taylor on a one-month mission to Colorado. Though Brimhall had "planned for a much needed rest from mental work by working with my boys on the farm and in the canyon," he "expressed a willingness to go on the mission and subsequently wrote to Bro. Taylor that I would go in July and

Talmage as a possible President. This leaves me free then to accept any position offered me. I think it would be correct under the circumstances to give the Academy a chance to change principals if the Board desires. As they thought of my going to S. L. City next year, it is possible or probable that they already have in mind some one to succeed me. Therefore, they can do as they please. If, however, I am wanted to retain my position, I feel bound to do so."

40. "Pedagogical History of the Class of 1893," p. 25.

41. Cluff to Brimhall, 26 January 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers. In a letter to Brimhall dated 5 November 1893, Cluff said that he was "well pleased with the way you are conducting the school. I think that it is now fully demonstrated that it is not so much the man who stands at the head of the Academy as it is the spirit that actuates the school. For in my hands it did not lose much of its importance and now in yours it continues steadily in its onward course" (Cluff Presidential Papers).

42. Cluff to Brimhall, 7 January 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers.

return August 25.”⁴³ While on his mission, Brimhall saw forty-three converts baptized. He confirmed four. While in Colorado, Brimhall was stricken with an irritating illness, presumably brought on by overwork. His battle with infirmity became one of the burdens of his life. Brimhall described his illness in a journal entry for 29 August 1897:

Have had those terrible pains in my chest but less excruciating. I believe they are similar to those that killed my father. It often seems that to run a knife in between my ribs would be a relief, but there is no need of “grunting” to people about it. I have had them for years, but they have been of short duration until the years of ’96 and ’97 when it has seemed to me often in school and while at work with the boys that I could not keep from groaning outright. Have had quite an easy time on this mission, perfectly free from anxiety and depending on the Lord, not from day to day alone but even from hour to hour and it has been one of the most profitable periods of my life physically, mentally, and spiritually.

Despite his protestation of having an “easy time,” Brimhall’s mission was difficult. John W. Taylor, who blessed Brimhall when he was ill, admonished him “to not try to do too much.”⁴⁴ Brimhall accepted Elder Taylor’s counsel as good, but he invariably violated it.

Taking the Helm during the Expedition

In 1899 Cluff and Brimhall worked assiduously with the state legislature to obtain recognition for Brigham Young Academy Normal School. Brimhall noted that he and Cluff “visited Prest. Kingsbury in regard to the propriety of getting some amendments to the school law by which private normal schools would become approved normal schools. Attended the joint meeting of the House and Senate. Talked with members. Met with Judge S. R. Thurman, Senators Evans and

43. Journal of George H. Brimhall, undated (preface to missionary journal probably written in July 1897).

44. Journal of George H. Brimhall, August 1897.

Smoot.”⁴⁵ Cluff relied heavily on Brimhall, frequently calling him from his teaching duties to assist with administrative affairs.⁴⁶ As monitor of students, Brimhall also dealt with most student problems and was often responsible for disciplinary action.

In addition to his influence in the school, Brimhall was an important Academy representative in Salt Lake City. On 18 November 1898 he was made an official member of the Church Board of Education. While Cluff attended only one Board of Education meeting in 1899, Brimhall was invariably present. Cluff's difficulty in getting along with Maeser apparently had no effect upon Brimhall's relationship with the Church school superintendent. They served together on the same committee in 1899 with no serious difference of opinion.⁴⁷

In March 1900, just before Cluff left on the expedition, Brimhall was appointed temporary superintendent of Church schools. When Cluff led the expedition to South America in the spring of 1900, he designated Brimhall acting president with the approval of the Board of Trustees. As acting president, Brimhall planned to follow a conservative administrative policy. His motto was to “improve . . . but not . . . radically revolutionize the school.”⁴⁸ He told Cluff, “The school depends not on man, or any set of men. God planted it and we are but gardeners to take care of it.”⁴⁹

45. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 25 February 1899. The normal school examination controversy centered around Section Five of the 1897 Utah State Educational Laws. The statute required that all prospective high school teachers submit to a teacher certification exam before being officially certified to teach in state schools. The statute exempted graduates from the University of Utah Normal School, stating that their diplomas “shall have the force of state certificates.” This placed the Church normal schools in an inferior position. Cluff's efforts were apparently unsuccessful since the law remained on the books until a much later date (*see* BYA Board Minutes, 20 December 1898).

46. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 27-28 February 1899.

47. General Board Minutes, 1 December 1899, Church Historical Department.

48. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 10 July 1889.

49. Brimhall to Cluff, 13 December 1902, Cluff Presidential Papers.

In January 1900 Brimhall took “great pleasure in reporting . . . the prosperity of the Academy” to George Q. Cannon, BYA’s most influential link with the Church authorities in Salt Lake City. He noted that “the school is larger this morning than at any previous time in its history — more college and high school students than we have ever had present before.”⁵⁰ By the fall of 1900 Brimhall reported 700 students were attending the Academy. The Academy faculty appeared willing to support the acting president in making sacrifices needed to perpetuate the school’s reputation as the finest secondary school in the state. Brimhall exuberantly reported to Cluff that the students were “enthusiastic and patriotic.”⁵¹ He assured Maeser, who was worried about tension between BYA faculty and administration, that the faculty was completely unified.⁵²

There were, however, a number of obstacles hindering the progress of the school. The Board of Trustees, which had always been firmly united behind Maeser and influential with the authorities in Salt Lake City, had begun to weaken in effectiveness. When Cluff left for South America, David John and Wilson Dusenberry were the only Board members who lived in the local area. The other Board members, George Q. Cannon, William Seegmiller, Brigham Young, Jr., Joseph D.C. Young, Joseph F. Smith, and Reed Smoot were seldom in Provo. Though most were positive enough in their verbal support of the Academy, they were often too busy to concentrate their efforts on school affairs.⁵³ David John, who had been a staunch local supporter of the school and a personal supporter of Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was in his sixty-eighth year. William Seegmiller of Richfield and Joseph D.C. Young of

50. George H. Brimhall to George Q. Cannon, 25 January 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

51. Brimhall to Cluff, 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

52. Brimhall to Maeser, 24 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

53. On 24 December 1900 Brimhall wrote Cluff to tell him of a financial problem. Brimhall had “explained this matter to President Cannon and to Apostle Smoot especially, and they agree with my views in the matter; but they are both exceedingly busy, and I do not know how much help we shall get from them” (Cluff Presidential Papers).

Salt Lake City rarely attended Board meetings.⁵⁴

The Board was often short of the quorum needed to transact business. On 11 January 1901 Brimhall wrote Cluff that "today was the time when the regular quarterly meeting of the Board should have been held. We sent out notices to all but no quorum was present."⁵⁵ Without effective support from the Board of Trustees, Brimhall was at great disadvantage, especially since he saw the need to be aggressive in his efforts to foster the school's growth. He explained that "as sure as the Academy stops growing, the interest in her on the part of men of means will correspondingly flag."⁵⁶

Of course, the most pressing need of the Academy and the most universal need among all Church schools was money. Facilities were neglected and overused.⁵⁷ Brigham Young Academy's outdoor privies were a disgrace to the community, and Brimhall met with very little success in getting indoor plumbing, even though he once noted that "the Board was in good condition to take into consideration the sewage proposition as all three of the Salt Lake members were under the necessity of using our outside conveniences before the meeting."⁵⁸ Academy classrooms were often too cold, and insufficient ventilation endangered the students' health.⁵⁹

Salaries at Provo were notoriously low, the worst of the three Church colleges.⁶⁰ Teachers were paid one-third of their salaries in cash and the balance in scrip.⁶¹ Scrip was often discounted ten percent at local stores, thus reducing even

54. BYA Board Minutes, 7 May 1901.

55. Brimhall to Cluff, 11 January 1901, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

56. Brimhall to Cluff, 24 December 1900, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

57. J. M. Tanner wrote Joseph F. Smith that "The Academy of Provo is not kept. The main building is more or less dilapidated" (Church General Board Papers, 25 March 1903).

58. Brimhall to Cluff, 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. Indoor plumbing was finally installed in 1901.

59. "Is It True or False Economy?" *White and Blue* (11 December 1903.)

60. A committee for "equalization of salaries" was established 12 January 1900, but it was apparently not successful in controlling the active bidding for teachers (General Board Minutes, 3 December 1902; J. M. Tanner to Joseph F. Smith, 25 March 1903, General Board Papers).

61. Journal History, 12 September 1901.

more the buying power of the already meager salaries.⁶² To make matters worse, Utah Stake threatened to print its own scrip, which would be worthless outside Utah County.⁶³

In his 1901 president's report Brimhall said that "many of the leading teachers and professors have been offered higher salaries to work elsewhere," but most were faithful to the Academy. The problem of Mary E. Gates, part-time faculty member, was indicative of the plight of many Academy teachers. She lamented that "after three years of teaching in the Academy with no pay, I am without means, and saddest of all, without my health."⁶⁴ A special committee which reviewed Church school expenditures consistently cut Brigham Young Academy budgets to a bare minimum, making the payment of even the smallest debts a distressing problem.⁶⁵ Even some debts of under \$100 had to go unpaid.⁶⁶

In the general financial squeeze, the Church closed down Brigham Young Academy's Training School because "President Snow felt he could not spare so large a sum for one school."⁶⁷ Normal students were required to do their student

62. Untranscribed taped interview with George Higgs, 8 August 1973, BYU Archives.

63. George H. Brimhall to George Q. Cannon, 25 January 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

64. Gates to Brimhall, 12 July 1901, Brimhall Presidential Papers. *See also* Gates to Brimhall, 20 May 1901, Brimhall Presidential Papers. Edward Partridge objected strongly to having his salary reduced from \$1,200 to \$1,100 a year if he moved back to Brigham Young Academy from the Beaver Branch. Nevertheless, Partridge acknowledged that he "had experience enough with the finances of the Academy to know that paying smaller salaries to some or all does not mean advantage to others, but it means more people for the school" (Partridge to Brimhall, 15 March 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers).

65. In the school year 1899-1900 BYA was awarded \$30,111.80; but BYC was given \$36,649.18 ("Report from the Finance Committee of the Church Board of Education," 21 February 1900, Lorenzo Snow Papers, Church Historical Department). The next year's budget was reduced to \$20,000 (Journal History, 24 March 1900), but it was later raised to \$25,000 ("Church School Budgets," 30 November 1901, General Church Board Uncatalogued Papers).

66. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 28 November 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

67. Journal History, 24 March 1900.

teaching in the county schools, which hurt the Academy as it attempted to compete with the University of Utah Normal School.

Survival of the Fittest

Competition was even more intense among the Church schools themselves as they vied desperately for Church appropriations. "It has always been a battle with us for our rights," wrote Cluff to Joseph Keeler. "If we had sat idly down, if we had not urged our rights at headquarters, the Academy would have been a little one-horse stake institution today."⁶⁸ Each academy principal watched the programs of the other Church schools. Faculty members and students debated which of the three major Church schools would ultimately emerge triumphant.⁶⁹ Benjamin Cluff heard "from reliable sources that President Snow recently made the remark in public that it was his desire to make the LDS College the leading school, and that he stated further to a member of the board that the school could have all the means it needed." Cluff did not mind seeing LDSC prosper, but he wanted to be sure that "while others flourish with plenty of means the Academy does not suffer for lack of means."⁷⁰

On 24 December 1900 Brimhall notified Cluff that the University of Utah was "making a strong pull and bringing to bear all the influence they can to have the Church discontinue all its collegiate work and make the Church schools nothing more than high schools and feeders to the University." He reported that certain influential members of the General

68. Cluff to Keeler, 12 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

69. The debate was the occasional topic of Church Board of Education discussion (J. M. Tanner to Joseph F. Smith, 25 March 1903, Church General Board Uncatalogued Papers) and even comment by General Authorities (Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 October 1903, Church Historical Department). *See also* "Red Letter Day for Academy: President Smith's Address," *Deseret News*, 31 May 1901.

70. Cluff to Brimhall, 2 July 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. Cluff feared that "the old contention of pulling away from Provo will be kept up, perhaps with increased vigor, and you [Brimhall] will necessarily be constantly on watch" (Cluff to Brimhall, 13 June 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers).

Church Board supported the University of Utah. To educators in the Church system, however, the proposal “created a profound chill of disgust and abhorrence.” If the University of Utah succeeded in monopolizing college work, the fate of Brigham Young Academy would be sealed. To Brimhall, losing college status would be disastrous since there was “a greater necessity of a Latter-day Saints college . . . than there is for intermediate and even high school work.”⁷¹

BYA’s problems were neither clearly defined nor easily solved. To secure more funds, Brimhall was forced to defend the Academy’s cause among competing Church schools and establish its importance in a system which was itself being seriously questioned. Every practical consideration seemed to be attached to some perplexing philosophical or political question. Brimhall, intent on meeting each problem as necessity dictated, hoped that expedient answers would work to the ultimate benefit of the Academy. Although more Church funds became available for the 1900-1 school year, this actually made competition for funds even more intense as Church schools attempted to obtain larger shares of the appropriation.⁷²

Struggling for a Training School

In April 1900 Brimhall wrote Maeser concerning the status of Brigham Young Academy as the Church Normal School.⁷³ He wanted to know how, if BYA was the Church Normal School, the Church could place restrictions on its own program when it was in such critical need of school teachers. “One thing is certain,” he wrote to Cluff, “unless we do something to make the continuance of the Training School here more advantageous than to have it go elsewhere, it is likely to not

71. Brimhall to Cluff, 24 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. *See also* journal of Francis W. Kirkham, 1 June 1900, original in BYU Library; and Brimhall to Cluff, 2 June 1900, Brimhall Letter Book, BYU Archives.

72. “Red Letter Day for Academy,” *Deseret News*, 31 May 1901.

73. George H. Brimhall to Karl G. Maeser, 23, 24 April 1900, General Church Board Uncatalogued Papers.

come here.”⁷⁴ Because of its “presuming to prepare teachers without a Training School,” the Academy had “already become a sneer in the mouths” of its rivals.⁷⁵

Brimhall decided to appeal to President Snow to reopen the Training School, but President Snow’s continued ill health prevented him from being able to meet with Brimhall. Finally, Brimhall resorted to local support, which in times past had been the salvation of the Academy. If a building for training teachers could be financed locally and funds raised without any appeal to the Church, Brimhall knew the Academy could probably get the Training School reestablished. After some initial consultation with George Q. Cannon and Reed Smoot, Brimhall began planning for the building. He stated humbly to Cluff, “I do not know that I will be able to accomplish what I wish in this regard, but I shall try.”⁷⁶

The students, anxious for a training facility, joined together to promote the cause. With their enthusiastic support, Brimhall mounted a full campaign for both a Training School and a gymnasium. Student representatives told the faculty in October 1900,

We want a gymnasium, and we are determined to have one. What we want is the consent of the Board and the Faculty to set about to raise the money and build one. We can raise one thousand dollars among the students, and we propose as representatives of the students, after raising this amount, to go to some man or men of means and ask him or them to add to this one thousand four thousand more and put up a place wherein we can exercise ourselves in a direction that will enable us to keep pace with other schools and give us the needed culture and exercise.⁷⁷

In November Brimhall told Cluff he had never seen “such zeal” as the students “manifest in this regard, and the faculty is going to pray for them, and if you feel so impressed we would

74. Brimhall to Cluff, 18 June 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

75. Brimhall to Cluff, 11 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

76. Brimhall to Cluff, 18 June 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

77. Brimhall to Cluff, 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

like to have the prayers of the expedition also.”⁷⁸

In December the students formed a committee “of the class of men that will not fail” and started canvassing the state for donations.⁷⁹ By liquidating some school real estate, Brimhall added to the building fund.⁸⁰ By the middle of 1901 Brimhall’s plan for construction was approved by the Board of Trustees.⁸¹ Convinced that the Training School Building would establish Brigham Young Academy as the leader of the Church school system, Brimhall sought the support of local leaders like Lars E. Eggertson, administrator in the Springville city schools.⁸² Eggertson and other local leaders were successful in promulgating the cause of the Academy among the teachers and students of their communities.

Brimhall also worked to improve relations between Karl Maeser and Benjamin Cluff. This was a time for soothing feelings and cultivating friendships. Brimhall wrote a rapid succession of letters to various General Authorities, asking them to attend the annual school handshake dance. His affection for the presiding Brethren was genuine, and he found it easy to be enthusiastic about receiving them as visitors to Provo. At the same time, their visits gave Brimhall the chance to show them the advantages of supporting the Academy. To President Snow he wrote, “I recognize the fact that you are very busy and that you have little time to devote to entertainments of any kind, but I feel that we are justified in being quite solicitous in regard to this matter as it will make it possible for many young people to shake hands with the prophets and apostles and other leading brethren of the Church — a

78. Brimhall to Cluff, 28 November 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

79. Brimhall to Cluff, 24 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. A. L. Neff, Joseph Featherstone, and Elijah Allen were members of the committee. Reed Smoot helped them solicit funds among respected Utah citizens (Reed Smoot to Senator W. A. Clark, 18 December 1901, Reed Smoot Papers, BYU Library). The committee collected a total of \$1,350 in their drive (“New Building Dedicated,” *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 17 February 1902).

80. Brimhall to Cluff, 24 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

81. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 28 June 1901.

82. George H. Brimhall to Lars Eggertson, 21 November 1900, Lars Eggertson Papers, BYU Library.

privilege that the students might not have in a lifetime, were it not for such an occasion as our reception will afford.”⁸³

Brimhall also worked industriously with local ecclesiastical authorities. Cluff, who was easily bored with campaigning for funds, had not given much attention to these matters.⁸⁴ In January 1901 Utah Stake was divided into three stakes. Brimhall made sure that each stake presidency had a representative on the BYA Board of Trustees.⁸⁵ Though the stakes raised very little money for the Training School Building, they did much to foster enrollment and publicize the school.⁸⁶

Much of the financial assistance needed to complete the Training School Building came through donations from private individuals. In a letter to Benjamin Cluff dated 2 June 1900 George Brimhall introduced the idea of enlisting a special benefactor to build the Training School. He asked Cluff,

What do you think about a Training School building in case I should find a person who would put up a building to be known as the Church Normal Training School erected by _____.

Would you favor having one erected? That is, the person would have perpetual credit for the erection, but placing himself or herself under no obligation to support the school after the building was erected. I do not know if I could find such a person, but I have been thinking about it.⁸⁷

83. George H. Brimhall to Lorenzo Snow, 7 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

84. In 1894 Cluff reluctantly agreed to work with the school's financial problems. He quickly became impatient with the political maneuvering sometimes required to procure funds for the school, which he called "stooping to conquer" (Cluff to Brimhall, 7 January 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers).

85. Stephen L. Chipman represented the newly formed Alpine Stake. David John remained as president of Utah Stake, with Joseph B. Keeler and Lafayette Holbrook as counselors. Nebo Stake was presided over by Jonathan S. Page, Jr.

86. Journal of David John, 17 February 1902, BYU Library.

87. Brimhall to Cluff, 2 June 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Cluff made no direct reply to this proposition, and Brimhall assumed responsibility for the building program.

Help from the Jesse Knight Family

In accordance with the Board's plan to liquidate interests in order to consolidate the school's holdings, William Knight purchased the Central Building from the Academy in January 1901 for \$8,000.⁸⁸ More help for the Training School Building came from the Knight family in May 1901. Brimhall wrote in his journal that he "met with the Knight family about helping the BYA. Jesse said go on and build a \$15,000 building."⁸⁹ The next day, at a special meeting of the Board of Trustees, Jesse Knight offered to furnish \$25,000 for the proposed gymnasium and Training School Building. He added, in the presence of Lorenzo Snow, that he would like the amount applied on his tithing. When he was told that the sum could not be applied to tithing, Knight retreated to his former figure of \$15,000.⁹⁰

Jesse Knight also helped get David Evans, a wealthy Salt Lake City non-Mormon businessman, to contribute \$5,000 towards the building. To extract funds from his wealthy non-Mormon associate, Knight resorted to a stratagem. Evans had told Jesse that he wanted to buy half interest in Knight's successful ventures. Knight accordingly

called Mr. Evans on the telephone and invited him to come to Provo as he had a proposition he could recommend and consider it the best investment they could ever make. Mr. Evans came down quite excited over what this venture was to be. . . . He listened eagerly for the details of what he expected to be a new mining venture. On being told that father would like him to contribute \$5,000 to erect a training school building for the BYU in which

88. BYA Board Minutes, 12 October 1900. T. N. Taylor and Reed Smoot later purchased \$1,500 worth of land from the Academy (Journal of David John, 17 February 1902).

89. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 13 May 1901.

90. Journal History, 14 May 1901.



Jesse Knight, principal contributor
to the Training School Building
construction fund and financial
benefactor of Brigham Young University.



Training School Building at
the northeast corner of the
Academy block, dedicated in 1902.

the two would share on a fifty-fifty basis, Mr. Evans seemed to be quite shocked, but after deliberating on the matter for a while, he reached into his pocket for his checkbook and said, "Jesse, I'm going to call your bluff."⁹¹

It was no bluff. "Uncle Jesse" contributed his share.

Construction on the building started later in 1901. In July Brimhall wrote Jesse Knight that "work on the new building is going on nicely. They are putting in a most excellent foundation. . . . I believe that Mr. Dixon and the architect are both honestly interested in the building." Brimhall was "very thankful to the Lord and the instruments that he has used for the financial support the school is receiving."⁹² The total cost of the building with its interior furnishings was \$33,000, almost twice the anticipated cost.⁹³ The total amount raised in the fund drive was \$26,000, with the remainder of the funds to finance the building presumably coming from the sale of the Central Building.

The whole transaction was enormously successful; it boosted the morale of faculty and students alike. It proved that the Academy was still capable of gaining the support of local residents. The pedagogical work, which had ever been the financial mainstay of the school and the ultimate end of its courses of instruction, was reinforced with the acquisition of the Church's best equipped normal facility. The building, of course, was also a personal victory for Brimhall. Though credit for its construction must be shared among a number of influential citizens and enthusiastic students, Brimhall was the moving force that directed and coordinated their efforts. George Henry Brimhall had proven himself to be a valuable asset to Brigham Young Academy.

The assistance of Jesse Knight and his family proved to be another of the Academy's greatest assets. Though he had

91. Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), pp. 89-90.

92. George H. Brimhall to Jesse Knight, 15 July 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

93. "Local," *White and Blue*, 1 November 1901.

contributed generously to the College Hall Fund in 1898,⁹⁴ Jesse Knight generally remained aloof from Brigham Young Academy affairs until Brimhall's time. Perhaps his conflicts with Cluff and his charge that Cluff was mistreating his children were responsible for Knight's inactivity.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, Brimhall, who was a close friend, and Knight's son Will re-sparked his interest in the Academy.

Not only was Knight a man of great means, but his influence among other wealthy men was considerable, as was his reputation with the General Authorities of the Church.⁹⁶ Knight was a worthy successor to Abraham O. Smoot as the main financial benefactor of Brigham Young Academy, and his help and influence did much to make Brimhall's administration a success. While Smoot's generosity had made it possible for the school to survive, Knight's contributions made it possible for

94. Gary F. Reese, "‘Uncle Jesse’: The Story of Jesse Knight, Miner, Industrialist, Philanthropist" (M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961), p. 38.

95. Two sources document Jesse Knight's complaints: an entry in George Brimhall's diary for 13 May 1896 and a letter from Jesse Knight to George Q. Cannon (5 May 1896, George Q. Cannon Papers, Church Historical Department). Knight complained that Cluff and two teachers were "unfit for their positions" because they had mistreated his children. The faculty members were acquitted of the charges, and no action was taken against Cluff. Fern Cluff Ingram, daughter of Benjamin Cluff and Mary John, noted the animosity between her father and Jesse Knight. She also mentioned the respect Jesse Knight had for George Brimhall (*see* 27 December 1972 interview with Fern Cluff Ingram conducted by Centennial History Committee, Benjamin Cluff File, BYU Archives).

96. Editor's Note: Knight once saved Joseph F. Smith from serious financial embarrassment. Heber J. Grant wrote Will Knight, "One of the most remarkable and wonderful things to my mind that ever happened in my life was when your father sent me \$10,000 to assist in saving the honor and good names of President Joseph F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman and Abraham H. Cannon in connection with Utah Loan and Trust Co" (Grant to Knight, 17 March 1921, quoted in Roland M. Gourley, "The Story of Jesse Knight" [M. A. thesis, Utah State Agricultural College, 1935], appendices II, III). Grant was sent to Provo to make a request of "Uncle Jesse" for \$5,000 for this purpose. Knight was adamant in his refusal. He indignantly told Grant that "Brethren who can't keep their own financial affairs in order are not worthy of being bailed out." The latter replied, "Uncle

the institution to become a university in fact as well as in name. Knight also financially assisted several faculty members.⁹⁷

Reorganizing the Board of Trustees

The 1900-1 school year brought the deaths of President Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, Edward Partridge, and Karl G. Maeser.⁹⁸ These men were all staunch supporters of Brigham Young Academy, and Brimhall assumed the responsibility of seeing that equally strong people filled their positions on the Board of Trustees. By Founders Day, 1901, the new Board was complete. Joseph F. Smith was appointed president of the Board on 1 April 1901, and David John was made vice-president, though he wished to yield his position to a younger member of the Board. New members were John Henry Smith, Oscar B. Young, Teenie Taylor, Lafayette Holbrook, and Jesse Knight. Lafayette Holbrook was Brimhall's son-in-law, and Jesse Knight was the father of another son-in-law, J. William Knight, who served as president of the alumni association.⁹⁹

The new Board became active at once. During 1901 they met to reaffirm their commitment to the school and to discuss the problem of getting a quorum to Board meetings. William Seegmiller of Richfield was asked to resign for nonattendance, and, to insure a quorum at Board meetings, it was

Jesse, I didn't come to Provo to get a refusal, I came to get the \$5,000. You go home tonight and pray about it and give me your answer in the morning." Uncle Jesse did as directed, lying awake a good part of the night praying about it. When he got to his office the next day, he sent Brother Grant a check for \$10,000, concluding his letter, "The next time you ask for money don't also ask me to pray about it."

97. Lars Eggertson (Annie Eggertson, "My Memoirs," BYU Library, pp. 77-78), Francis Kirkham ("Autobiography," end of last journal, BYU Library), and others received assistance from Jesse Knight.

98. Though President Snow's health prevented him from working closely with the Academy, he did agree with Brimhall to give BYA faculty members two-thirds of their salary in cash (Journal of George H. Brimhall, 12 September 1901).

99. Holbrook, ex-mayor of Provo, married Alsina Elizabeth, Brimhall's second daughter by his first wife; Will Knight married Brimhall's eldest child, Lucy.



Joseph F. Smith, President
of The Church of Jesus
Christ of Latter-day Saints from
1901 to 1918.

proposed that only people living in Utah County or Salt Lake City should be named to the Board.¹⁰⁰

Embroidments with the University of Utah

Though completion of the Training School Building and the reinstatement of the Training School in the curriculum of Brigham Young Academy were signal victories for Brimhall, other problems continued to plague him. During the election of October 1900 Brimhall supported A. C. Nelson, a personal friend, graduate of BYA, and a loyal supporter of the Church school system who was running for the office of state superintendent of public schools.¹⁰¹ In a letter to Cluff dated October 30, Brimhall said, "We stand a chance of electing A. C. Nelson State Superintendent. There is quite a feeling in favor of him."¹⁰² Brimhall publically stumped for Nelson during October, expressing himself "as a Republican."¹⁰³

In consequence of his support for Nelson, Brimhall received a letter from Richard R. Lyman, a supporter of N. T. Porter who favored the University of Utah. Lyman, sensing that Brimhall's support for Nelson was bringing the two schools into conflict, accused Brimhall of sending out letters to Church members encouraging them to support the Church school against the University of Utah. Lyman also implicated J. M. Tanner and J. H. Paul, but Brimhall denied the charges. The day after he received Lyman's letter Brimhall wrote Cluff that "Richard R. Lyman came down here and tried to raise an influence against Nelson on the ground that he was being supported because of his being pledged to the Church schools. Now this is one of the best things that Lyman could have done for us, and Mr. Porter, the opposing nominee, recognizes it. . . . If we don't win we shall demonstrate to our

100. BYA Board Minutes, 7 May 1901.

101. In an 11 January 1901 letter to Cluff, Brimhall mentioned Nelson as a strong supporter of his Training School program (Cluff Presidential Papers).

102. Brimhall to Cluff, 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

103. George H. Brimhall to George Q. Cannon, 31 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

opponents that we are at least a foeman worthy of their steel.”¹⁰⁴

Not just a contest of personalities, the campaign held deep implications for BYA Normal School. At that time Church normal graduates were not recognized by the state and were required to take extensive tests in various academic areas before receiving their certificates to teach in public schools. This was not required of normal graduates from the University of Utah. Like Cluff, Brimhall hoped to see the Church Normal School publically recognized and rendered legally competitive with the state school. When Nelson was elected by a slim margin, Brimhall began working with him to see that legislation helpful to the Church schools would be enacted.¹⁰⁵

Fighting for the College Program

President Kingsbury of the University of Utah had long campaigned for greater participation of Utah students in the state college while Cluff and Brimhall promoted the cause of Brigham Young Academy, opposing the complete monopoly of state education on the college level. They were suspicious of the completely secularized educational program developing at the University of Utah. In a letter to Cluff, Brimhall said he had “made it a point to ask every young man who has been East where the great struggle to maintain their faith takes place, and invariably I have been told that it is right in the laboratory of science and before the scientific professors.”¹⁰⁶ Brimhall and others feared that the University of Utah was going the way of the eastern institutions.

With the election of October still on their minds, and with pressure on Church leaders to trade lower division work for higher studies, the Brethren called a special Church Board of

104. Brimhall to Cluff, 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

105. Nelson won the election by a vote of 46,530 to 45,273 for Porter; 647 for Byron Whelock; and 205 for Francis C. Smith (Office of Harold Jacobsen, Utah State Archivist, Salt Lake City).

106. Brimhall to Cluff, 24 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Education meeting on 25 June 1901 to discuss the entire issue. Lorenzo Snow, after assembling the various educators concerned, asked "how far it would be wisdom for us to assist the State University and to sacrifice our own individual interests in the interests of the University."¹⁰⁷ He counseled that Church educators needed to work for the good of the whole Church, not just for the good of their own schools.

Brimhall spoke for the Church schools, offering eight basic points in favor of the Church college program:

1. It would not be practicable to change the present policy for the coming year, because the faculty was engaged and arrangements had been made. . . .
2. . . . the cost of maintaining the Academy would be very little less, if the collegiate department were cut out, than it is at present.
3. . . . That there might be a pattern of higher education economically given [to teach educators that good work could be done for less at Church schools].
4. If all higher education is turned over to one institution, that institution then becomes a sort of educational monopoly.
5. . . . the Church schools would at once lose their hold on strong men for teachers. The Academy teachers are University graduates, and they are ambitious, and by doing some college work with the high school work they are able to develop themselves, and they are not paid more than high school prices for their services.
6. The three schools in the Church school system that are doing college work are not duplicating studies, for each has been assigned its particular sphere.
7. . . . it permits our young men to study in the Church schools and graduate as college students. . . .

107. General Board Minutes, 25 June 1901. Those present at the meeting were Lorenzo Snow, A. H. Lund, James Sharp, John Nicholson, George H. Brimhall, Rudger Clawson, J. M. Tanner, George Reynolds, Brigham Young, Jr., W. B. Preston, R. T. Burton, J. R. Winder, Seymour B. Young, L. F. Moench (Weber Stake Academy), J. H. Paul (LDSU), J. H. Linford (BYC), W. M. Stewart (U. of U.), Richard R. Lyman (U. of U.), and W. J. Kerr (Utah State).

8. . . . [It] provides a field for the exercise of the highest talent of the teachers.¹⁰⁸

Brimhall urged he “had nothing to say against the State University; it was doing a good work; but he felt that it ought to be able to get along side by side with them [the Church schools] without cutting off their branches.” He considered “the competition furnished by the Church colleges was a good thing for the University.”¹⁰⁹

J. H. Paul and J. H. Linford, representing LDS College and Brigham Young College, took the same position. In view of the particular moral assignment given Church schools, Linford pleaded that the college work should be allowed to continue in the Church school system. J. M. Tanner added that “one of the most favorable reasons for retaining some college work in the Church schools is that we may retain strong men and character-builders as teachers. Opportunity to grow is half the teacher’s life, and when you take from him the privilege of college work you take from him a great opportunity to grow. It strikes him in a vital part, because there is something in a teacher’s life besides making money.”¹¹⁰ The Church school principals all promised they would not increase their expenditures if they were allowed to continue with their college courses.

Several General Board members spoke in opposition to college work in Church schools, maintaining that the precedent established in 1896 when the Church decided to lay aside its plans for a Church University and found instead a chair at the University of Utah ought to be followed by the Church Board in the present situation. President Snow summarized the consensus of the group, which was that the Church colleges should “be allowed to carry on their branches as usual, and nothing has been said about one grand institution to which we can send our young men instead of letting them go into the world to learn that which they cannot learn in

108. General Board Minutes, 25 June 1901.

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Ibid.*

Zion. . . . I admire the sentiment that our schools were founded to make Latter-day Saints and to qualify young men to teach the Gospel. That is very true. But should we not gain an influence in the Gentile world as far as we possibly can? I say we should." The President favored the University of Utah if the Church could maintain control of it, but his greatest fear was "that we could not keep control of the institution, and in that event all our efforts in its support would be lost."¹¹¹

William M. Stewart vigorously defended President Kingsbury and his motives for initiating the state university drive, but he could not answer the question that was burning in the mind of President Snow: "Can the Church get a University in Zion, at the expense of the State, but at the same time controlled by the personnel and the philosophies of the Mormon Church?"¹¹² If President Kingsbury's plan were successful, it would remove a heavy burden from the Church; if it failed, the Church Educational System would perhaps be destroyed. At every point the same question was raised, "Where is state higher education going to carry our children?"

In the course of a heated discussion between Elder Seymour Young, who favored the position of the University of Utah, and J. M. Tanner, who favored the position of the Church schools, George Brimhall informed the meeting that "his experience led him to say that we might get hold of the University, but we could not keep hold of it." George Reynolds and Presidents Brimhall, Paul, and Linford proposed an experimental period of higher tuition among the three Church colleges to see if Church members would patronize the Church schools. This proposal was supported by Rudger Clawson, Anthon H. Lund, and Brigham Young, Jr. The discussion ended with a decision to leave matters as they were. President Snow once again warned the Church school system leaders not to expect increases in budget until the Church could get out of debt. The meeting was adjourned

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

with no specific action having been taken by the Church Board.

Brimhall wrote in his journal the following concise summary of the meeting: "Meeting of the Board of Education at the President's Office. Big Discussion. Saved the college Department of BYA. University tried to cut it out of existence."¹¹³ Rather than incautiously join the cause of the University of Utah, Church leaders had decided to stand back and see what course the rapidly growing state institution would take. Meanwhile, Brigham Young Academy would have to prove the worth of its Collegiate Department if it wished to survive as an institution of higher learning.

The debate before the Church Board of Education revealed the complex situation facing all Church educators at the time. They stood in the rather uncomfortable position of being financially dependent upon the Church. The Church, in turn, was forced to evaluate the schools in terms of their practicality and productivity. Brimhall had proven to be a calm counselor and an influential partisan for the cause of the Church schools. He defended the work of Brigham Young Academy as well as Cluff himself could have done.

Furthering the Cause

Brimhall's work with the students played as significant a role in the progress of the Academy as his influence with the Church Board of Education. He exercised his talent for counseling, consoling, chastising, and inspiring, never allowing the well-being of individual students to be subordinated to an academic program.¹¹⁴ In addition to continuing active Sun-

113. Journal of George H. Brimhall, 25 June 1901.

114. In March 1901 he reported progress of the missionary class to Seymour B. Young of the First Council of the Seventy:

We have had 101 members in the class. About 40% of them when they came here had some bad habits, such as using tobacco, blaspheming, using intoxicants, visiting saloons, idleness and lack of ambition — in other words, using their own phraseology, they were toughs. . . . To my great joy, I am able to report that there is



Brigham Young Academy campus
as it appeared in 1902.

day School work at the Academy,¹¹⁵ Brimhall spearheaded the parents class program, a Church-directed series of lectures and activities aimed at activating local adults and instructing them in principles of childraising. Brimhall told Cluff that the parents class was “one of the features of the Academy recognized by the best society in Provo.”¹¹⁶ The acting president gave real emphasis to student devotional assemblies, a program which was deemphasized and later discontinued at the University of Utah.¹¹⁷

Brimhall organized a system of Academy student clubs which served to bolster morale and proselyte for the Academy. He wrote to students that

it would be well for you to have a little organization, known as the Academy organization, and that you meet together as students of the Academy occasionally, sing over your old college songs, tell your college stories, and tell about your future plans in connection with school-work; and also, perhaps, have some nice reading and other exercises. At these meetings invite those who would be likely to think seriously of coming to school, and thus you may be the means of inspiring many young people to get the blessings you have had the opportunity of receiving, and which you seem to appreciate.¹¹⁸

Some students and faculty were sent out on special missions to speak in stake conferences on the value of education and the advantages of Brigham Young Academy. In July 1901

not one in the class today but what keeps the Word of Wisdom, has a desire to learn, has a reverence for the name of the Deity, has respect for the Holy Priesthood, and desires to do good to his fellowmen. (Brimhall to Young, 30 March 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers)

115. Brigham Young Academy was the only Church school that had an active Sunday School program (BYA Sunday School Minutes, 1900-1, BYU Archives; Sunday School General Board Minutes, 19 March 1907, Church Historical Department).

116. Brimhall to Cluff, 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

117. Minutes of the Board of Regents of the University of Utah, 1900-1, on microfilm at University of Utah Library.

118. George H. Brimhall to Darcy Aldrich, 21 September 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Brimhall called Francis Kirkham as an educational missionary to labor among the young men who had not “awakened to a sense of their responsibilities.”¹¹⁹

Brimhall also pressed hard to get the finest speakers possible at Academy summer school sessions. In April 1901 John Dewey agreed to be the visiting scholar for that year’s summer session. Brimhall, trying to make Dewey’s engagement as exclusive as possible, asked him not to accept invitations to visit other schools that summer.¹²⁰ Dewey refused to work under such a stipulation; nevertheless, his lectures at the Academy were well attended and widely acclaimed.

Brimhall’s own lecture calender was extremely busy, though Cluff admonished him not to concern himself with lecturing to the public.¹²¹ He became increasingly involved in educational and ecclesiastical lecture assignments, attempting not only to maintain his connection and rapport with Salt Lake City, but hoping to expand the school’s influence throughout the state. He continually pressed the *Deseret News* for more coverage of the school,¹²² and he procured additional funds from the Holt family to supply materials for their physical sciences laboratory.¹²³

Committed to an educational program that demanded total dedication from faculty members, Brimhall was forced to carry a heavy teaching load in addition to all of his other responsibilities.¹²⁴ Because of his efforts to do more than he was able, Brimhall’s health began to fail. In September 1901 he began having severe nose bleeds and intestinal pains. He

119. George H. Brimhall to W. H. Smart, 16 July 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

120. George H. Brimhall to John Dewey, 9 April 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

121. Cluff to Brimhall, 2 July 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

122. BYA Faculty Minutes, 3 December 1900.

123. George H. Brimhall to the Holt Family, 8 July 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

124. The 1901-2 catalog listed his classes as: Principles of the Gospel (2 hrs.), School Management (2 hrs.), Parenthood (2 hrs.), Pedagogical Psychology (2 hrs.), and School Supervision (2 hrs.). In 1902-3 he taught Principles of the Gospel (2 hrs.), History of Education (2 hrs.), School Supervision (4 hrs.), and Pedagogical Psychology (3 hrs.).

claimed he could not climb stairs because of his heart. After recovering in October he again relapsed. In spite of his infirmities, Brimhall continued lecturing, public speaking, and working at the school. On 7 February 1902 Cluff and three members of the exploring expedition returned to Provo. The following day Brimhall was examined by a local doctor who discovered heart trouble. The next week Brimhall became so ill that he could not get out of bed. His strenuous activities had left him physically exhausted and mentally jangled. On 22 April 1902 Brimhall, barely able to stand without assistance, left for California to recuperate.¹²⁵

125. Brimhall was acutely ill with kidney and stomach disorders, anemia, and heart trouble. Staying in California for almost a year, he returned to Provo in April 1903 where he puttered in his garden, visited friends, and generally rested. In July 1903 he left for further recuperation in Canada where he visited the Knights and Canadian Mormon settlements.

12

Changing the Captains: 1902-1909

Return of the Expedition

Contrary to its festive departure, the travel-weary Cluff Expedition returned somberly to Provo at the beginning of 1902.¹ The dangerous venture had made the Academy and Cluff the object of considerable controversy. There was “a chill in the atmosphere which was disconcerting and disappointing to the men who endured sickness and hardship and even risked their lives for two years in a sincere attempt to be of service to their school and church.”²

For a few days the atmosphere was heavy in Provo. “As the students saw their own beloved Brimhall supplanted by brother Cluff,” Francis Kirkham felt a “qualm go through the school.”³ Young members of the student body followed the homecoming parade, shouting slogans for the return of Brimhall.⁴ Brimhall, however, took pains to show his al-

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1. “Our Own State: Provo,” *Deseret News*, 8 February 1902. *See also* “Provo B.Y. Academy Expedition,” *Deseret News*, 25 January 1902; and “A Red Letter Day for BYA,” *Journal History*, 17 February 1902. The homecoming was unreported in other parts of Utah.
 2. Roberts and Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff, Jr.,” p. 178.
 3. *Journal of Francis W. Kirkham*, 20 June 1902, BYU Library.
 4. Untranscribed taped interview with George Higgs, 1973, BYU Archives.

legiance to Cluff, while Cluff openly acknowledged Brimhall's success as acting president. The institution was, in a real sense, a different school from the one Cluff left in 1900. In his homecoming speech, Cluff mentioned the death of leading members of the Board — Karl G. Maeser, George Q. Cannon, Lorenzo Snow, and others. There was nostalgia as well as apprehension in his mention of “a great change” and “passing away of the elder members and placing in new ones.”⁵ Cluff inherited a Board for which his acting president was largely responsible, and though the Board actively supported him, Cluff, naturally, was apprehensive.

Though Brimhall continued for a few days to preside in faculty meetings, his illness progressed until he was threatened with complete physical collapse. On 17 February 1902, the very day the new Training School Building was dedicated, he was excused from his duties by President Joseph F. Smith. He went to California for medical treatment and recuperation, effecting a complete changeover of school administration from Brimhall to Cluff.

Working Toward a University

Working to retain the support of people who had befriended the Academy during Brimhall's administration, Cluff wisely engaged the school in a number of conservative but popular projects. He supported the school's missionary and preparatory classes, which by 1903 enrolled almost 400 students.⁶ The preparatory classes provided schooling to older students who had little education. The missionary class students, who were required to pay tuition for the first time in 1902, proved to be an important source of revenue.⁷ During the same year, Cluff did much public lecturing on the Book of Mormon, stressing the vital role of Brigham Young Academy in the missionary work of the Church. General Authorities as

5. “Paragraphs from Pres. Cluff's Speech,” *White and Blue*, 15 February 1902.

6. “President's Report,” 1902-3, BYU Archives, p. 1.

7. Minutes of the President's Council, 21 April 1902, BYU Archives.

well as officers of local stakes apparently supported the project.⁸

By the end of the year President Joseph F. Smith and Reed Smoot had rallied considerable local support for a Preparatory School Building. They met with area stake presidents and pledged each stake to support the construction.⁹ Interest flagged on occasion, but, with borrowed money and real estate sales, construction of the Preparatory School Building soon began.¹⁰

In addition to supporting construction of the preparatory class facility, Cluff reorganized the school's complex ecclesiastical program. The Sunday School program was changed into a "Sunday School Normal Program," giving students intense normal training in several areas of Church work.¹¹ Theological classes, worth one hour's credit, included a Sunday School normal class, a missionary class, a Book of Mormon class, a life of Christ class, and a Church history class.¹² Under J. E. Hickman the domestic organization was divided into home stakes, with students placed as officers over pupils from their home stakes.¹³

Students were organized into a single student body to unify classes and coordinate extracurricular activities.¹⁴ Academic societies and athletic organizations began to attract more student interest, eclipsing the Polysophical Society as leading campus organizations.¹⁵ In his presidential report for 1902-3, Cluff remarked that "we have gained much . . . in

8. See BYA Board Minutes, 10 January 1903. David John was a strong local supporter of the movement, as were Joseph B. Keeler, Lafayette Holbrook, and Stephen L. Chipman.

9. Pledges were as follows: Utah Stake, \$5,000; Alpine Stake, \$1,200; Nebo Stake, \$1,100; Wasatch Stake, \$1,050; and Juab Stake, \$650.

10. *White and Blue*, 18 December 1903.

11. BYA Board Minutes, 10 January 1903. This program was inspired by Cluff's visits to Protestant Sunday Schools in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

12. BYA Board Minutes, 10 January 1903.

13. BYA Board Minutes, 10 January 1903. The organization was abandoned in October 1904 (BYA Faculty Minutes, 10 October 1904).

14. Joann Parry, "Centennial History of the Student Body and Student Activities," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives p. 5.

15. "President's Report," 1902-3, BYU Archives, pp.21-22.

placing the discipline and control largely in the hands of the students, and thus training them in the powers of self-control." The changes were not just disciplinary, however. They were necessary steps in the transformation of Brigham Young Academy into a college.

Though the building program supplied no new upper division facilities, it accommodated younger students in a separate area, leaving the better-equipped Academy Building for high school and college students. This was especially important as school administrators anticipated growth in upper division enrollment. In 1902 the Academy catalog began to describe courses according to schools and departments instead of subjects.¹⁶ Other program changes began to define the division between the high school and college programs, which had formerly been intermingled along the lines of Maeser's earlier curriculum patterns.¹⁷

Separate departments began to emerge, and some teachers started to assume more administrative responsibility.¹⁸ Theology instructors, who had long been the most influential faculty members, were assigned to directly supervise individual students: "Every student is placed in one of the theological classes and each student's theology teacher is his special adviser, with whom the student becomes intimately acquainted and to whom he is expected to go for counsel and advice."¹⁹ By 1903 the Academy was organized into the following eight "schools" or departments:

The Preparatory School (Walter Cluff, principal)
 High School and Normal School (N. L. Nelson, principal)
 Kindergarten and Kindergarten Training School (Ida Dusenberry)

16. See BYA Faculty Minutes, 5 May 1902.

17. On 4 May 1903 President Cluff "asked the faculty to consider the advisability of changing the courses in the High School and College to a 3 year High School and 4 year College or a 4 year High School and 3 year College" (BYA Faculty Minutes, 4 May 1903).

18. BYA Faculty Minutes, 27 August 1903.

19. "Report of the Presidency of the Brigham Young University," 26 May 1904, BYU Archives. In this report the theology teachers were called "advisory teachers."

Normal Training School (Ella Larsen)
 Missionary School (Orin W. Jarvis, principal)
 Music School (A. C. Lund, principal)
 Commercial School (J. B. Keeler)
 College (Benjamin Cluff)

From Academy to University

All these administrative changes foreshadowed Cluff's plan to establish Brigham Young Academy as a university. In September 1903 Cluff proposed to separate the college from the high school and call it "Joseph Smith College."²⁰ Anthon Lund recorded: "In the President's office, there were a number of men waiting for us: B. Cluff came up with Bro. Brimhall. He wanted a college added to the Academy and call it Joseph Smith's College. I told him to my mind there was not another name better than B. Y. Academy. Brother Cluff is a schemer."²¹ Provisions of the Deed of Trust and financial considerations made Cluff's original plan unfeasible.

The Board then decided to change the name of the entire school from Academy to "University," stressing that, while it was a formal change, the basic Academy program would continue without additional cost. This plan would be slower in fostering collegiate work, but it was, nevertheless, a direct attempt to move the Academy, in time, up to the status of a university. At a meeting of the Board held in October 1903, "The question about giving the name of University to B.Y. Academy was discussed. Bros. Benjamin Cluff, Reed Smoot, Richard Young, and Wilson Dusenberry spoke in favor of it. Pres. Smith emphasized that there would be no more money given to the institution."²² The Board voted to change the name of Brigham Young Academy to "Brigham Young University." Anthon Lund, who opposed the change, wrote in his diary, "I hope their head will grow big enough for the hat."²³

20. BYA Board Minutes, 22 September 1903.

21. Journal of Anthon H. Lund, 19 September 1903, Church Historical Department.

22. Ibid., 30 September 1903.

23. Ibid.

Brigham Young University.

The Board of Trustees and Academical Faculty

*respectfully invite yourself and friends to the Exercises
in honor of the change of name from*

The Brigham Young Academy

to

The Brigham Young University,

*to be held in College Hall, Friday, October 23, 1903, beginning at
10 o'clock a. m.*

Benj. Cluff, Jr., President.

To Cluff, the name “University” was more a declaration of intent than a vindication of status. A few days after Cluff made his proposal to adopt the title “University,” Wilson Dusenberry proudly announced to the stake high council that “when the Church centralized its higher education, it would doubtless be at Provo because of its advantages and being remote from the larger centers where there are more temptations to the young.”²⁴ On 15 October 1903 at 9:00 A.M. a meeting for reincorporating as a university was held. With the First Presidency and Board of Directors in attendance, appropriate changes were made in various paragraphs of the governing documents, inserting “Brigham Young University” for “Brigham Young Academy.” October 23 was designated a special Founders Day to celebrate the legalization of the new name.²⁵

Resignation of Benjamin Cluff, Jr.

Cluff’s public victories were offset by some grave personal calamities. He was accused of unchristianlike conduct by some members of the expedition, the principal accuser being Walter Wolfe.²⁶ A Church trial exonerated him from all charges, and the faculty and students sustained him and offered him their full support. However, the embarrassment and humiliation resultant from the trial made remaining in Provo more than Cluff wanted to endure.²⁷ Cluff’s marriage to his third wife Florence Reynolds also made it difficult for him to remain at the University. The Reed Smoot Senate hearing afforded opportunity for Cluff’s enemies and enemies of the

24. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 October 1903, Church Historical Department.

25. For details of the Founders Day celebration, see *Journal History*, 23 October 1903; and *BYU Board Minutes*, 23 October 1903.

26. Wolfe, who became bitter against Cluff and the Church, testified against the seating of Reed Smoot in the United States Senate. He left the University during the 1903-4 school year.

27. Though the actual minutes of the Church trial were lost, they were quoted in abbreviated form at the Smoot hearings. See *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate*, 1906, 4:39-49.

Church to discredit him publicly. He had married Florence Reynolds after the Manifesto of 1890, and although there were at that time divided opinions as to whether the Manifesto applied to marriages contracted outside the United States, politicians and enemies of the Church viewed the marriage as a breach of faith on the part of the Church, especially since Cluff was president of a Church school.

Melancholy and discredited, Cluff thought it best to resign and return to Mexico. He discussed the matter with the First Presidency, and they left the decision to him.²⁸ Accepting a managerial position with the Utah-Mexican Rubber Plantation, Cluff tendered his resignation to the Board of Trustees on 17 November 1903. His resignation as president of Brigham Young University became effective 23 December 1903.²⁹

Appraisal of Cluff Administration

Unfortunately, the failure of the Cluff Expedition to South America dimmed the numerous accomplishments of President Benjamin Cluff, Jr. He was responsible for organizing a student loan association. During the early years of his administration he was also instrumental in creating student body and department journals including *The Normal*, *The Business Journal*, and *White and Blue*. Intercollegiate athletics began at the Academy during Cluff's administration. Baseball began in 1891; football in 1896; track and field in 1899; and basketball in 1900. White and blue were chosen as the school colors in 1892. Annie Pike Greenwood wrote the lyrics for the "College Song." Cluff encouraged the school's alumni to become organized and actively support the school. He encouraged class and institutional spirit and formalized worthy traditions which have continued at the school. The first Founders Day was held on 16 October 1891.

28. "Meeting of the Council of the Twelve," *Journal History*, 19 November 1903.

29. For a more detailed discussion of Cluff's reasons for resigning, see Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 178-91.

Beginning in 1892 Cluff brought prominent educators to the campus from the East as guest lecturers. Summer school lecturers included Francis W. Parker, A. Burk Hinsdale, and James Baldwin.

In November 1891 he persuaded the General Board to establish a Church Normal School at Brigham Young Academy. Cluff strengthened the Academy curriculum and began the separation of the high school and college students. He lengthened the teacher-training course from two to four and later to six years. He lengthened classes from thirty minutes to an hour. He established the Collegiate Department and initiated training programs for Sunday School and Mutual Improvement Association teachers. He also started the Academy's missionary training program.

Cluff encouraged young men and women to continue their education in prominent universities. As a result of his inspiration, James L. Brown, Richard R. Lyman, Edwin S. Hinckley, M. H. Beckstrand, Stanley Partridge, Josiah H. Hickman, Alice Louise Reynolds, and Arthur Daley registered at the University of Michigan. He also supported Moses H. David and Caleb Tanner, who went to Harvard University. Ernest DeAlton Partridge (Michigan State College) and John C. Swensen (Stanford University) also received Cluff's encouragement. Most of these fine scholars later returned to teach at Brigham Young Academy.

The Holt Laboratory of Physics, the Magleby Laboratory of Chemistry, the Hinckley Laboratory of Natural Sciences, the Beckstead Laboratory of General Mechanics, and the Warren Smith Library of General Science Works were all endowed during Cluff's administration. He successfully enlarged the student body, the faculty, and the library. During his administration the student body (exclusive of grammar school students) increased from 386 in 1892 to 825 in 1903. The faculty increased from twenty-eight in 1892 to fifty-seven in 1903. The library increased from 1,053 volumes and 596 pamphlets in 1891-92 to 5,432 volumes and 6,023 pamphlets in 1901-2.

One of Cluff's greatest accomplishments was persuading

the First Presidency to incorporate Brigham Young Academy as a subsidiary of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This alone was a great step forward in the history of Brigham Young Academy for which the succeeding University will ever be indebted to Benjamin Cluff. It insured Church financial support for the school. During Cluff's administration, Church appropriations increased from two thousand to thirty thousand dollars a year. In the face of severe financial difficulties, Cluff was forced to meet the opposition of a number of influential people who sought to curtail the school's expansion, but he was constant in his determination to lay a solid foundation of educational philosophies, policies, and practices upon which a great university could be established. Those who succeeded him built upon these foundations. Symbolic of Cluff's accomplishments, the name of the school was changed from Brigham Young Academy to Brigham Young University just before Cluff left the school in 1903.

When Cluff resigned from his position as President of Brigham Young University, the Board of Trustees paid him the following tribute in the form of a resolution:

We, the Board of Directors of said institution, record herewith our unqualified approval of President Cluff's official record in connection with this school; also, that we recognize in his administration an unusual degree of resourcefulness in promoting the growth of the school, and a marked executive versatility in the management of the daily routine work.

Resolved, that in accepting Professor Cluff's resignation, which we do with regret, we wish him Godspeed in his new vocation.³⁰

A feeling of pathos characterized the addresses and conversations at the farewell party given in Cluff's honor on 23 December 1903. After turning over the keys of the school to the new president on 5 January 1904 and after paying his tithing

30. BYU Board Minutes, 9 January 1904.

and his debts, Cluff departed for Mexico. He left behind him in Provo a loyal faculty which had supported him faithfully through years of turmoil and uncertainty. He had instituted programs at the University which established a precedent of academic growth and intellectual development. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., had capably guided the school through the difficult 1890s and into the twentieth century, capping his achievements with his successful campaign to transform Brigham Young Academy into Brigham Young University.

Appointment of George Henry Brimhall

When Cluff left the University, several prospective acting presidents were discussed. Some parties supported James L. Brown; others Josiah Hickman.³¹ Richard Young wrote Reed Smoot, suggesting Willard Young as the most likely candidate for the presidency. Richard Young was convinced that Willard Young was "a man of such ability, character, reputation, and, I may add, faith in the Gospel, that were our institution to secure his services we would have the most distinguished and possibly the most efficient college president in the state."³² John A. Widstoe was also discussed as a possible choice for president.³³ However, many Trustees felt George H. Brimhall was the best candidate in spite of his frail health.

On 15 December 1903 the Board met to decide who would be acting president of the school. The vote was divided evenly between George H. Brimhall and Joseph B. Keeler. Stephen L. Chipman changed his vote to favor Brimhall in order to break the tie. After that, the voting was made unanimous for Brimhall.³⁴ Brimhall confessed his anxieties at accepting the position, but with the help of Joseph B. Keeler and Edwin S.

31. A. Glazier to Reed Smoot, 23 November 1903, Reed Smoot Papers, BYU Library.

32. Richard W. Young to Reed Smoot, 17 December 1903, Reed Smoot Papers.

33. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p 190.

34. Richard Young to Reed Smoot, 17 December 1903, Reed Smoot Papers.

Hinckley — Brimhall said he “clung” to them — he soon had school affairs running smoothly. Brimhall quickly gained the support of faculty and students, and with the improvement of his health the Board of Trustees stopped their search for a president.³⁵ On 16 April 1904 George Henry Brimhall was unanimously elected president of Brigham Young University.³⁶

Brimhall’s report to the Board of Trustees at the end of the 1903-4 school year was very hopeful. He said his “aim has been to maintain the school on the progressive plane which has characterized its growth, and in this we feel we have been fairly successful . . . and the prospects for the next year are indeed bright.”³⁷ Brigham Young University had the largest enrollment of any LDS Church college. It had facilities adequate to house its students, and the school’s financial situation was better than it had been for years. The student newspaper proudly compared BYU with other Church colleges in Utah:

It has now, and always has had, the largest enrollment and consequently exerts the greatest influence amongst our people and elsewhere. If a canvas were made of the prominent men of the State who are representatives of one of the three schools, we would be found extremely modest in affirming that not more than 50 percent would be left for the other two to divide between them. The alumni and the student body of the BYU have done, and are doing, more for its advancement along material lines than has been accomplished by the combined forces of the other two schools.³⁸

Creation of BYU Presidency

A few weeks after Brimhall’s appointment as acting president of BYU, the Church Board of Education passed a resolution that “the Board of Trustees of the Brigham Young University, Latter-day Saints University, and the Brigham Young

35. A. Glazier to Reed Smoot, 22 January 1904, Reed Smoot Papers.

36. BYU Board Minutes, 16 April 1904.

37. “President’s Report,” 26 May 1904, p.7.

38. “Not Probable; Hardly Possible,” *White and Blue*, 26 February 1904.

College be requested to appoint a Presidency of three in their respective institutions to preside over the faculty and the school.”³⁹ The presidency structure was the LDS Church pattern, and it was not surprising that the Church should inaugurate the same system in its schools. In April 1904 George H. Brimhall, Joseph B. Keeler, and Edwin S. Hinckley were appointed members of the BYU presidency.⁴⁰

Keeler and Hinckley were very loyal to BYU and of great help to President Brimhall during his entire administration. Their personalities effectively complemented each other. Keeler handled most of the routine administrative details and financial matters of the school. His steadiness and devotion to duty made him the balance wheel in the presidency. Hinckley, like President Brimhall, was an eloquent speaker. He was a dreamer and had great visions for the future. About the time Orville and Wilbur Wright made their first flight in a heavier than air machine, Hinckley predicted to his class that the time would come when a man would fly from New York to San Francisco between breakfast and dinner. Hinckley lived to see this happen, and his own son Robert Henry Hinckley became chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, the first government agency to supervise commercial aviation in the United States.

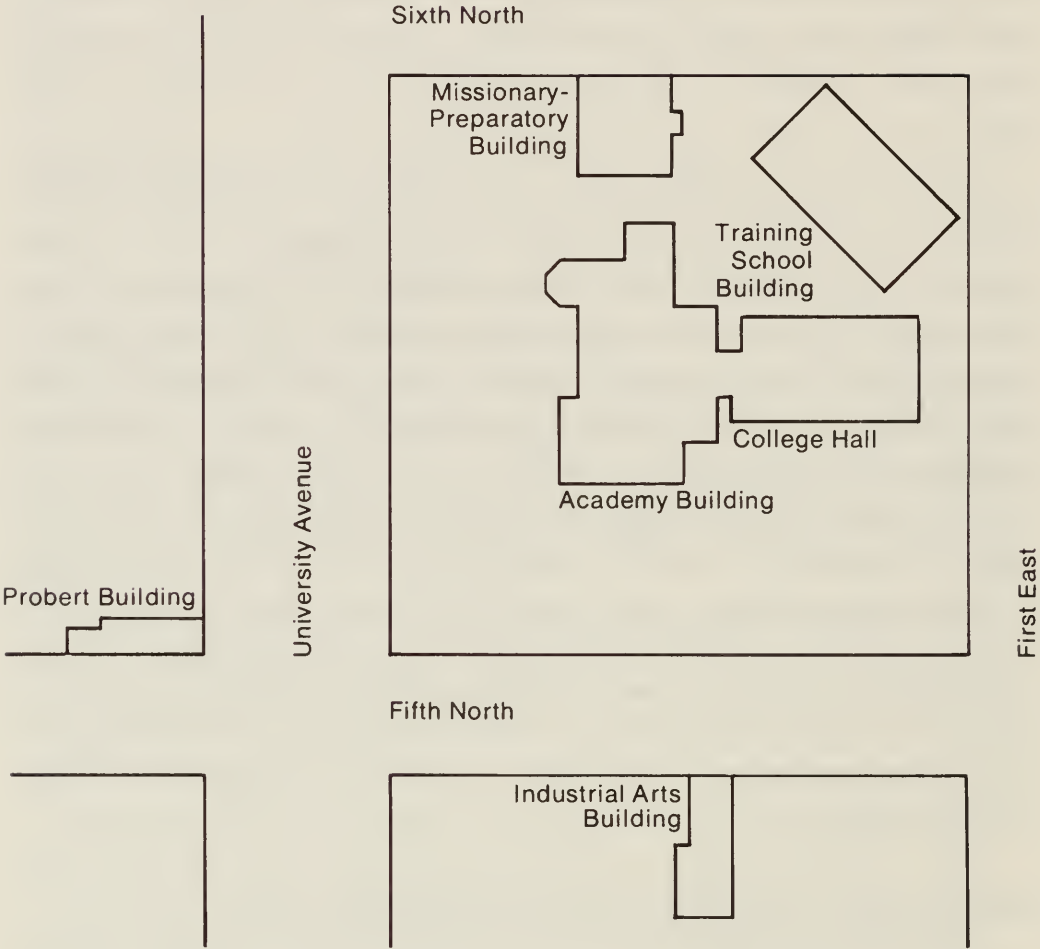
Educational Facilities in Early Brimhall Years

Brigham Young University school facilities gave a good indication of where the school stood at the beginning of the 1904-5 school year. The small campus, located on Fifth North and University Avenue, was constructed on a four-acre plot of ground. While it was no smaller than the campuses of other

39. Journal of Anthon H. Lund, 27 January 1904.

40. BYA's acting presidents Keeler and Brimhall actually constituted this kind of body as early as 1900, and Keeler is mentioned in the *Deseret News* of 1889 as Karl Maeser's "first counselor" (T. Earl Pardoe, "J. B. Keeler," *Sons of Brigham* [Provo: BYU Alumni Association, 1969], p. 101.) At the end of Brimhall's administration the practice of having a presidency at the school was discontinued. Succeeding presidents have had no official counselors.

Brigham Young University Campus, 1904



schools with similar enrollment at that time, it was in no sense a university campus. Most of the school buildings were crowded into one haphazardly arranged school block. The four principal buildings were the Academy Building, College Hall, the Missionary-Preparatory Building, and the Training School Building. The Probert Building (across the street west on University Avenue) and the Blacksmith Shop (across the road south on Fifth East) completed the campus facility (*see* accompanying diagram).

The fewer than sixty college students, who represented less than five percent of the overall student body, met for classes in College Hall. The rest of the campus was devoted to high school work (normal students, commercial students, high school students, music students) and to grammar school work. The 1904-5 Brigham Young University campus, with its facilities for students from grammar school through college, symbolized the versatility required of the school's administration. George H. Brimhall proved himself equal to the task of improving the school's physical facilities.

The Training School Building represented one of Brimhall's most ambitious undertakings as acting president of Brigham Young Academy in 1902. The Training School Building was suited to many activities. Its upper level was girded over with metal beams to permit an open space of sixty feet by ninety-three feet, sufficient for a basketball court and exercise area.⁴¹ The facility was also used for gymnastics and dancing. An orchestra balcony was built at the north end of the hall above the gym floor to prevent interference with athletic activities. The lower floors of the Training School Building contained enough classrooms and offices to house the Training School, which then consisted of half-a-dozen teachers and two hundred students.

The University's missionary training program and the preparatory or subfreshman program for older grammar school

41. Ephraim Hatch and Karl Miller, "A History of the Brigham Young University Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," typescript in BYU Archives, 3:6.

students were housed in the Missionary-Preparatory Building.⁴² In 1904, at the suggestion of Board member Stephen L. Chipman, a blacksmith shop designed by Ernest D. Partridge was built on Fifth North across the street south from the University block. This two-story rectangular brick building housed ten blacksmith forges. Jesse Knight provided the funds for the building, and each of nine men donated a forge for the new shop.⁴³ Danish immigrant Hans Andersen, an able craftsman, taught blacksmithing from construction of the blacksmith shop in 1904 until 1921 when blacksmithing classes were discontinued.⁴⁴

The Probert Building, located on the northwest corner of Fifth North and University Avenue, had been occupied for the first time in 1895. It housed overflow from the Art Department until the Missionary-Preparatory Building could be occupied. The Academy Building, with the president's office located on the main floor at the west entrance, served as the major administrative facility for the school. The Commercial School was housed on the main floor; Room "D" constituted the study and library facility; and the chemistry laboratory was located in the basement. Most collegiate classes not requiring specialized classrooms were held in College Hall.

During this period the school purchased about ten acres of land on what was then known as "Temple Hill." This acreage, comprising a park in the area of the present Fletcher Engineering Building, was named after Raymond Knight, the son of Jesse Knight, who once owned much of the land on Temple Hill.⁴⁵ The ground on Temple Hill was purchased

42. Ibid., 3:8, 10. Later known as the Art Building, the Missionary-Preparatory Building was almost square and constructed of light-colored brick. Four large classrooms and an office made up its first floor. The second floor had two classrooms and one office on the east side and a large hall (capacity 300) used for devotionals and lectures on the west. The top floor had four rooms and an office.

43. Hatch and Miller, "History of the Physical Plant," 3:14.

44. William H. Snell, "History of Industrial Arts, 1883-1941," unpublished transcript in BYU Archives, pp. 5-6.

45. Hatch and Miller, "History of Physical Plant," 3:27. Over a hundred trees of wide variety were growing in this area around 1900. The residents of Provo used the area for picnicking and bonfire parties.



Students and faculty members finishing work on the athletic field on Temple Hill, approximately where the Joseph Smith Memorial Building now stands.

from Provo City with funds raised by the student body.⁴⁶

A site located approximately where the Joseph Smith Memorial Building now stands was surveyed by Ernest D. Partridge for the construction of a track for athletic field events.⁴⁷ Men with teams of horses and scrapers donated their time to level this land and develop a suitable track with banked curves.⁴⁸ Several hundred students turned out with rakes and shovels to help finish the athletic field.

University block, the Probert Building, the Blacksmith Shop, and the athletic field on Temple Hill represented the total physical facilities of Brigham Young University in 1904. Inside toilets were made available in 1901, and electricity was generally available in the buildings by the turn of the century. Heating was maintained through a number of separate coal-fired boilers attached to each building, and the buildings were maintained by a small custodial staff, composed mostly of students. A gas generating plant was added in 1906 to supply the Domestic Science Department with gas for cooking.⁴⁹

Financial Quandaries

The school, of course, relied heavily on Church appropriations for financial support. Brimhall explained that Brigham Young University was “not a tuition school.” At the time, tuition at BYU averaged “a little more than \$12 [per term]. In the State Institution it averages about \$10 so if this is a tuition school it is a \$2 tuition school if the other is free.” Brimhall reminded high school students that “there is about \$32 somebody pays for you every year.” To college and normal students he said, “Somebody has to pay between \$60 and \$75 for

46. “Work of the Campus Committee,” *White and Blue*, 19 February 1904; “Monday night, 7 February 1904, the city council of Provo voted unanimously to sell to Brigham Young University its property on Temple Hill. The consideration is \$125 per acre, which, considering the location, is a reasonable figure. The deed carries with it the provision that the University must erect buildings on the ground.”

47. Hatch and Miller, “History of the Physical Plant,” 3:6.

48. “Athletics,” *White and Blue*, 18 March 1904.

49. Hatch and Miller, “History of the Physical Plant,” 3:56.

everyone of you after you have paid your tuition.”⁵⁰

In May 1904 the Church Board allocated BYU \$34,000, which was \$9,000 more than the appropriation to LDSU and \$14,000 more than Brigham Young College received.⁵¹ The allocation, however, was \$4,500 short of BYU’s request.⁵² Though he was disappointed at not getting the full amount he had requested, Brimhall accepted the \$34,000 and told students that the General Board had “opened the coffers” and poured money into the school.⁵³ The school raised \$16,908, giving it a working budget of approximately \$47,000, which the University overspent by \$1,500.⁵⁴ In 1905-6 the estimated budget was \$56,400. The school asked for \$43,000 from the Church Board. The Board reduced the Church portion of BYU’s budget to \$41,000, which in essence amounted to a refusal to pay the school’s \$1,500 deficit of the previous year. The extra money was, however, awarded to the school in July of the same year.⁵⁵

Even with increasing allocations from the Church, BYU budget deficits mounted as years passed. As Edwin S. Hinckley said, budget problems were “almost a year long struggle. Night after night the three of us [Hinckley, J. B. Keeler, and

50. “Remarks by President Brimhall,” 14 January 1906, box 34, folder 6, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

51. A large endowment fund for BYC accounted in part for its lower appropriation. President Linford considered the fund to be “overestimated” in the eyes of the Church Board of Education (General Board Minutes, 29 April 1904). LDSU was in the tightest circumstances of the three schools. Said Professor J.H. Paul, “I am informed that it is not probable that any additional appropriation from the Church can be received next year and there are no other sources of revenue. If this is true, it will be necessary to cut down our school for next year” (LDSU Board Minutes, 14 March 1904, Church Historical Department).

52. George H. Brimhall to Arthur Winter (secretary to the General Board), 7 September 1904, General Church Board Uncatalogued Papers.

53. “Remarks by Brother Brimhall,” 20 January 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

54. George H. Brimhall to J.M. Tanner, 28 March 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

55. General Board Minutes, 26 July 1905.

Brimhall] struggled with requests from the various department heads, with salaries, etc., trying always, but many times in vain, to allocate the amount appropriated so as to serve the best interest of the University.”⁵⁶ In order to finance the increased cost of its collegiate program, the BYU Board of Trustees continued the dangerous practice of deficit spending, “hoping always that some lucky financial stroke might be made through the year, which would clear away all these financial clouds.”⁵⁷ On the other hand, the General Church Board kept telling the school, “This is the absolute limit,” and “We have gone the highest limit possible”; nevertheless, midyear readjustments and pleas for extra appropriations continued.⁵⁸

In 1906 Brigham Young University once again received help from Jesse Knight by way of a land donation of five hundred acres on the Provo bench. The land’s value was enthusiastically estimated at \$49,306.60. In 1907 Knight gave the University \$1,300 worth of irrigation company stock and some rights to Provo River water.⁵⁹ Though Jesse Knight’s generosity was appreciated, it did not help the cash position of the school. Brimhall reported, “We are having a great struggle to keep our expenditures within the range of our estimates and we find we must economize on all lines.”⁶⁰

The only special appropriations which came from the General Board at this time were directed into BYU’s manual arts

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56. Amos N. Merrill, “In Remembrance of Joseph B. Keeler,” Joseph B. Keeler Biographical File, BYU Archives. In 1903-4 salaries for the presidents of the three Church colleges averaged around \$2,200 per year. Brimhall received \$2,250. Joseph Kingsbury of the University of Utah was given \$4,000 that same year, and full professors at the University of Utah were making \$2,000 a year, while department heads made \$2,400.
 57. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 15 March 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.
 58. Arthur Winter to George H. Brimhall, 15 May 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 59. “Report of the Bequests of Jesse Knight to BYU,” box 31, folder 5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 60. George H. Brimhall to J. E. Hickman, 2 December 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

program. J.M. Tanner, Church school superintendent, had raised Church interest in vocational education programs, and Brimhall obtained a fair share of the appropriations for BYU.⁶¹

Enrollment Outlook

Enrollment at Brigham Young University climbed steadily during the early Brimhall years. In 1904-5 a total of 1,275 pupils enrolled, most of whom were high school students.⁶² In 1906 the *White and Blue* claimed that enrollment of high school and college students had increased thirty-three percent over the previous year.⁶³ President Brimhall reported that “enrollment is nearing the fifteen hundred mark, and when it reaches two thousand my desire shall have been realized.”⁶⁴ By February of the 1906-7 academic year enrollment had reached a total of 1,449, and by the end of the academic year it was 1,553.⁶⁵

Brimhall always spoke optimistically of enrollment, but most of BYU’s increased enrollment during the early years of his presidency was due to an increase in the number of lower division students, especially students in the early high school

61. General Board Minutes, 25 May 1904.

62. See enrollment charts in the appendices. The actual number of students at the school during spring term, 1905, was 925 (BYU Presidency to J.M. Tanner, 28 March 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers).

63. “Elements of Growth,” *White and Blue*, 12 October 1906.

64. *White and Blue*, 21 December 1906.

65. See George H. Brimhall to William Probert, 6 February 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers; and “Report of the Presidency of the Brigham Young University,” 31 May 1907, BYU Archives. While BYU was expanding in enrollment, the board of trustees of LDS College complained of lower enrollment in upper division classes: “The decrease in the higher years of the Normal department is due to the fact that a number of our 3rd and 4th year Normal students have gone to the State University ‘again.’ The dignity, the influence and prestige of an institution depend upon the number and character of the graduates. If the graduating class fails to improve in number or increase in quality, the progress of an institution as such has ceased — it has reached its zenith” (LDSU Board Minutes, 26 September 1905; see also LDSU Board Minutes, 15 June 1905, Church Historical Department).

grades. Enrollment in higher grades had levelled off. However, BYU's curriculum was becoming increasingly broad, clearly reflecting developments in the Church education system, which fostered a wide number of educational programs that would, like the Church program of auxiliary organizations, reach out to the LDS community in every conceivable way, continually emphasizing practical and moral education.

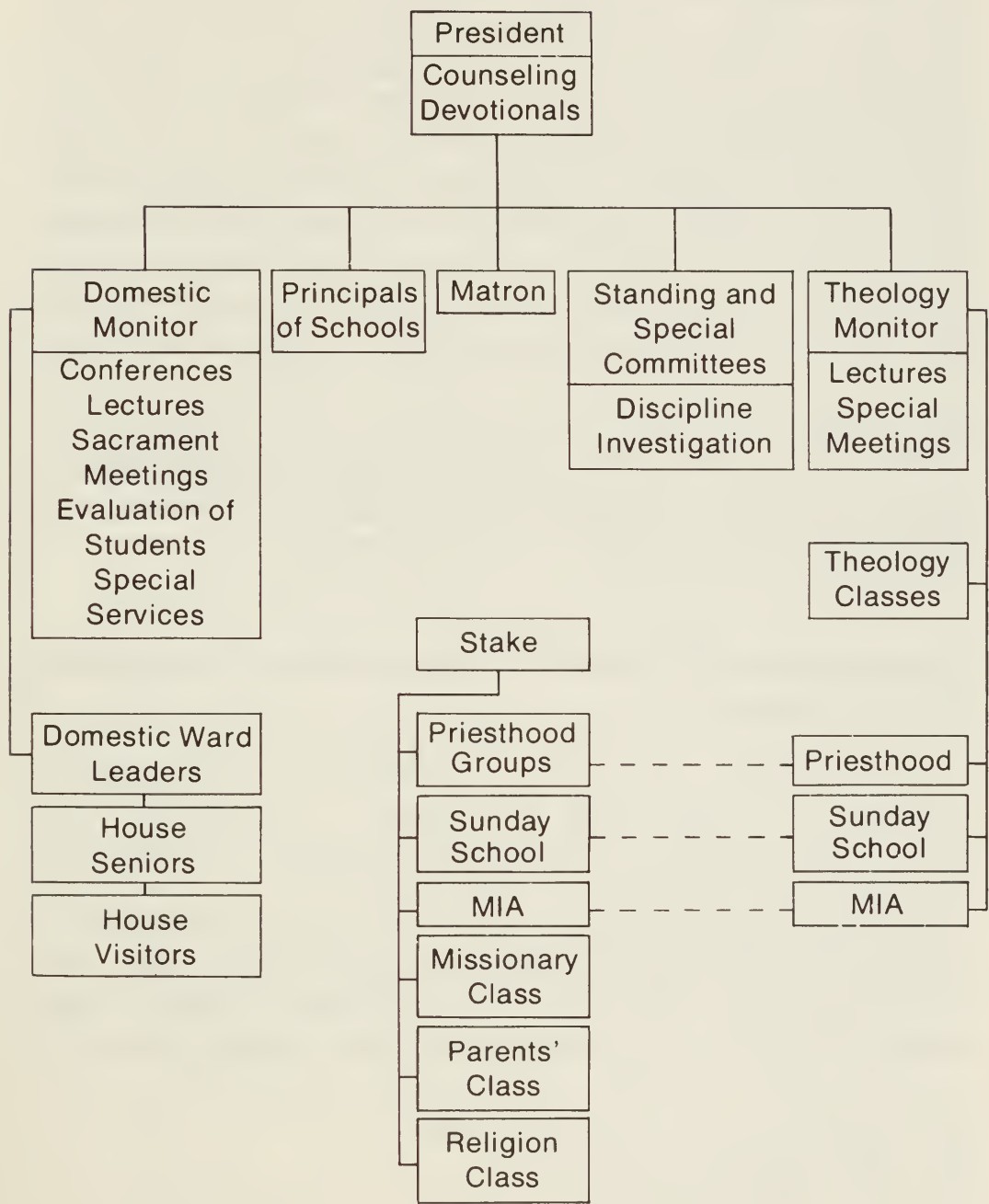
Administration of Spiritual Programs

The University's comprehensive religious and moral programs penetrated every part of the school's activities. This, of course, necessitated a complex administrative structure involving faculty members in religious programs. The programs were so diverse and extensive that there were conflicts of jurisdiction at many points (*see* accompanying chart). Since there was no legitimate ecclesiastical organization on the campus (the president of the school had no status as a bona fide Church leader), the domestic organization and the theology monitor continued to play significant roles in BYU's theology program. J.B. Keeler's dual position as local stake president and BYU theology monitor enabled the school to work closely with officials of Utah Stake to develop and implement theological programs for the benefit of Brigham Young University students.

BYU and the Church Board of Education

During the years 1904 to 1908 the Church Board of Education, concerned about the rising costs of the Church school system, took a number of steps to control funds and to regulate courses of study. Academic programs, physical facilities, and even the organizational structure of the schools were modified. The board of examiners (composed of the three major Church school presidents and the Church superintendent), which had existed since Maeser's time, and a special committee on appropriations (composed of four or five members of the Council of the Twelve and the Church superintendent of schools), began to assume more responsibility for governing the Church school system.

Ecclesiastical Organization at BYU before 1904



In 1904 Superintendent Joseph M. Tanner gave the Church Board of Education a list of curriculum changes which he felt were necessary in the Church schools. The Church Board, however, did not pursue his recommendations.⁶⁶ Though Tanner realized that excessive expenditures had to be trimmed from his budget, he failed to institute a precise plan for minimizing expenses. Further, he supported a movement to establish Church schools in Canada, but President Smith vetoed the proposal.⁶⁷ In 1906 a special committee was appointed to investigate "whether or not a more economical and profitable use of the money expended in the Church School system could be made."⁶⁸ At the same time, the whole economic issue of the Church system was discussed. Willard Young proposed that Church schools should be limited to high school work alone if the investigations of a separate committee found the plan feasible. Though the investigation was not immediately conclusive, it indicated that the Church had, for the time being, just about reached the limit of its potential for economic commitment to its expanding educational system.

Appointment of H. H. Cummings as Church Superintendent of Schools

In April 1906 J.M. Tanner was replaced as school superintendent by Horace Hall Cummings.⁶⁹ Cummings was a home-bred educator. He learned his *ABC's* in a log cabin school, becoming interested in education as a lad when he studied grammar under John R. Park. He taught for years in Salt Lake City in the Church seminaries there, coming very much under the influence of Karl G. Maeser in Maeser's later years.⁷⁰ When he proposed going east for a college degree in

66. General Board Minutes, 25 May 1904.

67. Ibid., 27 September 1905.

68. Ibid., 28 February 1906.

69. Ibid., 25 April 1906.

70. Cummings taught at East Mill Creek and in the Central Seminary, as well as in the Twentieth Ward Seminary which Maeser directed before he moved to Provo. Cummings's autobiography provides an excellent history of education in Salt Lake City before 1900 (*See*

1881, President John Taylor would not give his permission on the grounds that it might corrupt Cummings's faith. Though Cummings was disappointed at the time, he later felt that President Taylor's advice had been wise.⁷¹

Cummings became superintendent of Church schools at a critical time of reevaluation, and his influence — both administrative and philosophical — was very strong. He received his Bachelor of Science degree in education from the University of Utah in 1906. A man of devout faith, Cummings saw the function of Church education as spiritual and moral rather than intellectual.⁷² In his autobiography, Cummings claimed that his role in the Church schools was explained to him in a dream in which he visualized the Church school system as a building, only partially complete, supported by

"Autobiography of Horace Hall Cummings," xerox copy of unpublished typescript in BYU Archives).

71. Cummings wrote that he was keenly disappointed at not being able to go east to study. However, he kept his troubles to himself and "made no accusations against the Board. . . . I made the best explanations I could to my wife, and decided to let the Lord work the matter out in his own way," adding, "Had I gone . . . my faith might have been destroyed" ("Autobiography of H.H. Cummings," chapter 6, pp. 3-4).
72. While teaching at the University of Utah, Cummings visited the widow of Orson Hyde. Cummings described the experience in his autobiography, asserting that it helped him to choose a career in education:

At length she said humbly and with hesitation, "If you three brethren will accept it from so humble an instrument, I will give you each a blessing in tongues. I feel the Spirit of it." We gladly gave our consent and she began with the oldest and in a clear voice gave each of us a blessing in turn. While we could not understand a word of what she said, we enjoyed the spirit of it, and her daughter received the gift of interpretation and gave us each a full account of what she said. . . . Now she had never seen me before; did not know that I was a teacher, nor the problems that worried my mind, but her blessing to me seemed to fit my needs exactly and in a way that only divine inspiration could have prompted. . . . She began by saying that my mission and calling on the earth is to be a teacher and promised me that if I would devote myself diligently to that calling the Lord would magnify me [and] make me a great teacher. I should meet the great educators of this nation and of other nations, and should visit the stakes of Zion, establishing and setting in order educational institutions in them. ("Autobiography of H. H. Cummings," 6:3.)

huge, dusty pillars. His job was to clean out the unfinished basement and dust off the pillars, thus preparing the Church school system to fulfill its potential. Cummings said that the "beauty and strength" of the Church system "were too great for me to injure. Man could not damage that building more than an ant" could. "And if the unfinished basement were so strong and beautiful, what would the superstructure be like!"⁷³

As Cummings saw it, the Church school system was only partially complete, with little of its superstructure erected. His task was to work in the still unfinished basement, doing the "dusting and cleaning" and leaving the more profound work to those who would follow. He was concerned about inefficiencies and inequities in the system, and he proposed to remedy them. The greatest weakness in the program, as he saw it, was the Church schools' effort "to do more than the means available would permit." In line with this view, he opposed the extension of college work in the school system, maintaining that "it would be cheaper to send our students to Columbia than to finance three separate Church colleges."⁷⁴ Under Cummings the following changes were made in the Church school system:

1. Appropriations were allocated on the basis of actual enrollment rather than Church school administrators' estimates of needs.
2. Uniform courses in theology were provided, and excellent course outlines were printed.
3. Uniform textbooks in other studies were adopted for five-year periods as in the state schools.
4. The office of the Church superintendent became an agency where teachers wanting positions and schools desiring teachers could register their needs.
5. High school teachers were required to have a college degree.
6. The rate of Church financial involvement in school

73. Ibid., 36:2.

74. Ibid., 36:5.

buildings was made constant, and building plans had to be approved by the superintendent's office.

7. Schools were instructed to maintain a student body of at least one hundred.
8. Annual teachers conventions were instituted.

Influence of State High Schools

Cummings's efficiency measures might have doomed the college work at Brigham Young University if it had not been for the state high school movement. In 1907 the editor of *Utah Educational Review* reported a " 'new birth' in education: No one goes from the larger places into the country who does not return enthusiastic over the interest of the people in education. . . . Everywhere is promise."⁷⁵ Noting that high schools were "springing up throughout the land," George Brimhall saw that the BYU Normal Training School needed to "extend its facilities so as to prepare high school teachers." Expanding the Normal School would "necessitate emphasizing our college work in the University."⁷⁶ Brimhall warned Board member Reed Smoot that "unless we improve our college faculty and increase the facilities, we may look for our graduates from the High School and the other Secondary Schools to go elsewhere for their college work."⁷⁷

John A. Widtsoe, then president of Utah State Agricultural College, agreed that a Church normal school could render invaluable service to the LDS community by maintaining Church influence in public schools:

The great Church normal school which I dream of must be prepared to turn out suitable teachers for the high schools of the State.

Let us have in the common and high schools of this and surrounding states a large portion of the teaching force trained under the spiritual influence of the first class

75. *Utah Educational Review*, October 1907, p. 5.

76. "President's Report," 1907.

77. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 11 January 1907, Reed Smoot Papers.

Church normal training school and university.

. . . I am coming more and more to the conviction that in our Church school policy we ought to emphasize more strongly than ever before the preparation of teachers to fill positions both in the common and high schools of this and surrounding states. This necessarily means that the Church must possess a normal school which must be second to none in the West, or for that matter in the country.⁷⁸

With this widespread interest in education, all of the Church colleges were eager to enter the field of university and high school teacher training. Competition for Church allocations became even more intense. Since Church Board reports had almost invariably mentioned BYU as the most efficient of the three Church institutions of higher learning, the school was in a very favorable position to gain more Church support. BYC had consistently enrolled fewer students per Church dollar than BYU, and LDSU by this time had conceded its university status to the University of Utah and was focusing on high school and business work.⁷⁹

The Church Teachers College

In order to secure its position at the head of the Church school system, Brigham Young University made application in 1907 to become the official Church university. Brimhall also asked for a \$10,000 appropriation for teachers "in consideration of which the Board of Trustees will erect a building on Temple Hill to cost \$100,000."⁸⁰ The new building was to

78. Widtsoe to Brimhall, 21 December 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers; *see also* Widtsoe to Brimhall, 22 October 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

79. Cummings personally felt that Logan already received more than its share of "Church and State patronage." With "perhaps 5,000 population," Logan had "a temple, a big Church college and the State Agricultural college bringing in a very large appropriation every year while Ogden, with six times the population, got only a small Church academy and the state industrial school, requiring only a small appropriation annually."

80. BYU Faculty Minutes, 11 January 1907.

be BYU's first university facility. BYU's proposal was considered by the Board of Education in February 1907. The General Board referred the proposal to the committee which had been established at the request of Willard Young in 1906 to "define more clearly the scope and work of the different schools."⁸¹

By the beginning of 1908 Brimhall was enthusiastically awaiting a positive report from this committee. He wrote Benjamin Cluff, "We are making history at intervals, that, in my opinion, will last. A series of events have transpired during the last year which have caused us to look towards the realization of our educational ideals in the matter of higher education."⁸² In March the committee formally recommended that BYU be made both the official Church Normal School and the official Church university. A vigorous discussion ensued. "In view of all of the circumstances in the case and in the interest of peace among the Latter-day Saints," the Church Board of Education decided not to change the status of any of the Church schools.⁸³

However, in April 1908 Brigham Young University's role as the official Church Normal School was reaffirmed, and Brigham Young College agreed to discontinue its teacher training program. With the approval of the Board of Trustees, Brimhall moved ahead with plans for the construction of the new college building and normal school (Maeser Memorial) that was to cost the University \$100,000.⁸⁴ With development and growth of the normal program assured, Brimhall began to work for the Board's approval of a training program for college teachers.⁸⁵ He wrote a letter to the Church Board of Education which was submitted over the signatures of the executive committee of the BYU Board of Trustees. The letter urged that BYU be recognized as the

81. General Board Minutes, 20 February 1907.

82. Brimhall to Cluff, 20 January 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

83. General Board Minutes, 5 March 1903.

84. George H. Brimhall to James L. Barker, 1 August 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

85. BYU Board Minutes, 10 November 1908.



Preparatory Department
graduates of 1904.
Courtesy Rell Francis
(taken by G. E. Anderson).

official Church institution for the preparation of high school and college teachers.⁸⁶ The Church Board's joint committee on appropriations and schoolwork submitted the letter to the Board with the recommendation "that the request contained in said communication be granted, viz: That the Church Teachers College be established at the B.Y. University, Provo, as requested, but with the understanding that all college work be discontinued there except what is really needed in the preparation of teachers."⁸⁷

Administrators of Brigham Young College in Logan were shocked when they heard of Brigham Young University's recognition as the official Church Teachers College. President J. H. Linford objected on the basis of the previous Board decision allowing college work in all three Church colleges, but after the committee reviewed Linford's appeal, they reaffirmed their decision to elevate BYU. In their view a Church college could only be justified as a training school for teachers in the Church and public school system. The Church Board also felt that one official Church Teachers College was sufficient to meet Church needs. Although it was merely an extension of an earlier policy, the Church Board's recognition of Brigham Young University as the official LDS Church Teachers College was an important landmark in the history of the school.

86. General Board Minutes, 30 December 1908.

87. *Ibid.*, 11 February 1909.

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Twixt Sand and Shoals: 1909-1921

In 1909 George Brimhall celebrated his sixtieth birthday and nineteenth year at Brigham Young University. He had moved the school into an ascendant position in the Church school system and had the satisfaction of achieving what both he and Cluff had longed for — a real collegiate program. The school was now free to venture out in several directions. Formal recognition of BYU as the Church Teachers College kindled Brimhall's desire to expand the work considerably beyond that sphere. This was only natural since less than ten percent of the college students at BYU at that time majored in education; twenty-five percent majored in the sciences; twenty percent majored in the social sciences; and forty-five percent majored in the arts and industrial areas.¹

Attracting Mormon educators throughout the state, the college doubled its enrollment during 1909-10, its first year as the official Church Teachers College.² Brimhall worked to recruit as students a number of "public school teachers in the state who are intellectual educators," but who were "deficient

1. College Registry, 1909-10, UA 361, BYU Archives.

2. Ibid.

in scholastic attainments.”³ Students attending the University were at least eighteen years old, and most of them were over twenty-two. Many were educators of considerable experience, and the group included many returned missionaries.⁴

In 1909 the college was organized into the following departments in order to increase subject concentration and emphasis: theology, education, philosophy and psychology, English, foreign languages, mathematics, biological science, geological science, chemistry, physics, history and social science, music, art, and manual training.⁵ In April of the same year elective courses were established “to give the student the privilege of electing his studies with the advice of his theology teachers and the head of his department.”⁶ Following the pattern of the University of Utah, high schoolers were separated from the college students. College credits were reevaluated, and the privileges of college students were more clearly defined.⁷ Attempts were also made to establish a common unit of credit throughout the Church school system.⁸

Moderate Church appropriations to the University in 1909 would not permit the extensive programs that the state schools were undertaking; nevertheless, BYU was appropriated more funds than any other school in the Church school system. Brigham Young University received \$61,250; Latter-day Saints University, \$50,000; Brigham Young College, \$24,000; and Weber Academy in Ogden, \$16,500.

Maeser Memorial Project

Brigham Young University’s dominant role in the Church system was symbolized by its first university building, the

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3. George H. Brimhall to A. C. Nelson, 2 April 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 4. College Registry, 1909-10.
 5. BYU Faculty Minutes, 31 March 1909.
 6. *Ibid.*, 30 April 1909.
 7. For a discussion of credits, *see* BYU Faculty Minutes, 10 April 1909; for privileges and status, *see* BYU Faculty Minutes, 17 November 1909; for entrance requirements, *see* BYU Faculty Minutes, 26 March 1909.
 8. BYU Faculty Minutes, 24 April 1909.

Maeser Memorial, undertaken in 1907. The \$100,000 building which was to stand on "Temple Hill" represented both the school's devotion to its past and its hope for the future.⁹ The site, destined to become the college campus which early school administrators had envisioned, was acquired through the joint efforts of students and the Provo City Council. George Brimhall explained the tradition associated with Temple Hill in a letter to William Probert dated 1 November 1907:

President A. O. Smoot, at the time of the purchase of the block, said to his son, Reed, "Reed, what do you think about the new location for the Academy?" The boy looked up at his father and said, "It is pretty good, but it is not the right place." His father said, "Where would you have it then?" The boy replied, "Right on Temple Hill. And the day will come when it will be regretted if the building is not put up there."¹⁰

The Maeser Memorial was, according to Horace Cummings, "an air castle" come to earth which he and Brimhall had long dreamed of. He predicted that after the Maeser Building was completed other buildings would be constructed on the site.¹¹ The editor of *White and Blue* hailed the building as a symbol of a new day when all the Church schools and auxiliaries would support a central Church college. Though the building was delayed several times because of finances, its fund-raising campaign was by far the most extensive in Brigham Young University's early history. The project received the support of

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9. According to tradition, Brigham Young prophesied that the hill which became upper campus was to be a temple site. See Albert Jones, "Oldest BYU Graduates Attend Basketball Game," *Daily Universe*, 2 February 1960; Eva Maeser Crandall Oral History, BYU Archives, p. 60; Harvey Fletcher Oral History, BYU Archives, p. 9. Writings of the 1909 period show that the ground was redefined as a site for a "temple of learning" or educational institution. Referring to the Maeser Memorial, the *White and Blue* of 24 October 1911 said, "It may not be the kind of temple that was in the minds or the dreams of the youth of that former day," but fulfillment of the prophecy was "apparent in the prospect that a temple of learning . . . shall crown this hill."
 10. Brimhall to Probert, 11 January 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 11. "Founder's Day," *White and Blue*, 18 October 1909.



President Joseph F. Smith laying
the cornerstone of the Maeser
Memorial Building in 1909.



Maeser Memorial Building,
dedicated in 1911,
as it appeared in 1918.

local ecclesiastical organizations, the Alumni Association, other schools, and all the general Church organizations.¹² The faculty contributed substantially to the construction, some teachers sacrificing “what would mean a half year’s salary” to see it completed.¹³ Contributions of \$100 or more totaled \$41,125. Of this amount, \$38,200 came from the Jesse Knight family.¹⁴ The Maeser Memorial Building was ready to open for classwork by the fall of 1911.

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12. Brimhall said, “We shall need a long pull and a strong pull, an ‘all put-together-pull’ to build that building” (Brimhall to Drs. Allen and Middleton, 8 November 1909, Brimhall Presidential Papers). For support from other schools, *see* Willard Young to George H. Brimhall, 27 January 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers. For ecclesiastical support, *see* Sunday School General Board Minutes, 21 December 1909, Church Historical Department; Utah Stake Priesthood Meeting Minutes, 9, 14 July 1910; and a letter to Brimhall from Joseph F. Smith where the First Presidency pledges its support but refuses to officially endorse the project to all Church schools (First Presidency to BYU Presidency, 18 December 1909, Brimhall Presidential Papers).

13. George H. Brimhall to Annie Ronnow, 19 January 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

14. The following people contributed \$100 or more to the construction of the Maeser Memorial (asterisk indicates member of the Jesse Knight family):

Allen, R. E.	\$5,000*
Allen, Dr. S. H.	125
Booth, May A.	100
Brimhall, Mrs. G. H.	100
College Class, 1904	250
Crandall, Eva M.	100
Duffin, J. G. & Sons	500
Glazier, C. A.	500
Hills, Theresa B.	100
Holbrook, Lafayette	5,000*
Holbrook, L. H. & Wife	250*
Holbrook, Mrs. Lafayette	100*
Jensen, J. C.	1,000
Jex, H. C. & wife	500
Knight, Iona	3,000*
Knight, Jesse	15,000*
Knight, J. Wm.	5,000*
Knight, Ray	5,000*

\$41,125

The University Experiment

Confident of increasing enrollment and adequate facilities, Brimhall focused his attention on securing the most competent faculty members he could find. Henry and Joseph Peterson were both engaged to teach at the school in 1907. Henry had obtained his bachelor's degree at the University of Chicago in 1905 and his master's at Harvard in 1906. Joseph had graduated from the University of Chicago in 1905 and had received his doctorate from the University of Chicago two years later. During 1908 Brimhall engaged Ralph Chamberlin, who received his bachelor's degree at the University of Utah in 1898 and his doctorate at Cornell in 1905. In 1909 William Chamberlin joined the faculty. Although he did not have a doctorate degree, he had had extensive training at Harvard, the University of California, and the University of Chicago.

These new faculty members came to Brigham Young University hoping to transform the newly named college into a full-fledged university, comparable to the country's recognized universities and capable of turning out reputable scholars. Ralph Chamberlin described the intellectual excitement pervading the small university at the time of his brother's arrival in 1909:

Conditions were seemingly promising in this institution at that time. It had been chosen for development as a university, to head the Church schools, and to be, in particular, a center of training of leaders and teachers for the other institutions of the system. In line with this policy several well-trained men had already joined the faculty and were developing departments that had attracted students of exceptional earnestness and calibre. It was understood that the policy would be to include in the faculty as rapidly as possible the best scholars of the Church.¹⁵

15. Ralph V. Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy of William H. Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1925), p. 137.

Ralph Chamberlin headed the Biology Department and Henry Peterson the educational work. Joseph Peterson moved the work in psychology rapidly ahead, while William H. Chamberlin was asked to teach philosophy and psychology.

The student newspaper soon began to register the influence of these dynamic professors. Practicality and religion, which had characterized the newspaper's philosophy, began to give way to a more intellectual trend of thought. The *White and Blue* of 13 May 1910 editorialized that

the scientist serves mankind as truly as does the statesman or the theologian, and often more nobly than his commercially inclined brothers. The scientist discovers truth. The captain of industry exploits the discovery for the enlargement of his private fortune, and often to the positive detriment of humanity.

Science should be studied for the love of its truths, and it is worthy of study for its own sake as truly as is art or philosophy. It has its aesthetic side as well as its difficulties. All is not clear sailing to him who succeeds in any activity. But to shun a subject because it is not eminently practical without properly regarding its cultural value is to take too narrow a view of education. Some educators freely admit the error of the old idea of a liberal education, and the disciplinary theory. Yet they have substituted in their place a theory of practical education that is scarcely less objectionable.

A school executive committee, composed of a number of energetic college students along with Ralph Chamberlin and the two Petersons, worked industriously to spark academic interest and keep the school abreast of the latest developments in education, science, and modern philosophy. The teachers were acutely aware of BYU's rather lowly status as an intellectual institution, and they moved to secure for it the reputation which they considered it rightfully deserved. Ralph Chamberlin reported to Brimhall that "the opinion seems quite widely to prevail that we are lacking in genuine scholarship, the son of one of the leading men in the Church saying that he regarded the main body of my associates here as

a 'bunch of farmers' who gave their leisure time only to teaching and who lacked any genuine devotion to their profession." He urged the president "to remove grounds for such criticism as this," as otherwise "many students whom we might rightly expect to attend our college turn elsewhere."¹⁶

In the second term of the 1910-11 school year the faculty met and decided to organize a special institute for the sharing of educational ideas. *White and Blue* editorialized that at these meetings, "Papers upon live questions will be presented and discussed by the teachers. Suggested changes in method and matter will be based upon actual data and careful scientific investigations. The work can scarcely fail to increase the efficiency of the teachers and the educational wealth of the students."¹⁷ Visiting speakers discussed eugenics,¹⁸ communism,¹⁹ and the impact of Darwinism on history and

16. Ralph V. Chamberlin to George H. Brimhall, 3 September 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

17. "Teachers Institute Program," *White and Blue*, 18 February 1910.

18. Reviewing Stanton Colt's discussion of eugenics, *White and Blue* of 10 October 1910 said, "While his point of view was not new to the BYU college department, the students were encouraged to find that their training accorded closely with the doctrine of this London Scientist." Colt summarized his ideas on eugenics in a chapter called "The Religion of Eugenics" in his book *The Soul of America*:

This question of native power and capacity leads us to another aspect in which Christianity plus Science will be able to do mightier works than ever did Christianity plus Supernaturalism. The whole knowledge of our day, especially that of plant and animal life, leads to the belief that we can not only transform man's environment so that it shall be favourable to whatever powers the individual has, but that we may develop the stock of the race itself. Man's artificial selection and control of the stock from which plants and animals spring, and his gradually increasing knowledge of the laws, both qualitative and quantitative, which heredity reveals, together with our new sense of the necessity of improving the human stock, point to the prevention of the practice of bringing undesirable human beings into the world. Persons not fit to propagate the species will either voluntarily abstain from doing so, or will be forced by public opinion to abstain.

19. William Thurston Brown lectured on campus on 16 February 1909. His book *How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society* was published about the time of his visit to BYU.

education.²⁰ Reaction to guest speakers was generally very favorable. The *White and Blue* of 16 February 1909 said that William Thurston Brown's lecture on socialism "was scholarly and well-prepared, the speaker having his subject well in hand. The audience was large and appreciative. We may not all agree with his remarks, but we like to hear him talk."

Even the influential theology faculty was becoming more liberal.²¹ Though Benjamin Cluff had introduced a number of "philosophical" theology classes for collegiate students, including theological "seminaries" geared to handle the problems of philosophy and science as they related to LDS doctrine, the college faculty of 1910 offered an array of classes much beyond Cluff's program. New courses with titles like "Ecclesiastical Sociology" and "The Psychology of Religion" stressed scientific principles and the relationship between scientific philosophy and Mormon doctrine.

The Modernism Controversy

The enthusiasm of some of the teachers, who themselves differed somewhat in their ideologies, stirred the entire campus. Several of the new professors were teaching principles which were considered by many to have unwholesome implications. Ralph Chamberlin and his brother William had become two of the most learned exponents of organic evolution, and though the theory of evolution had been explained and debated many times before by such men as James E. Talmage, George Phillips, C. A. Whiting, J. E. Hickman, Edwin Hinckley, and N. L. Nelson, it had never been advocated at BYU with such unrestrained vigor.²² And the theory of evolu-

20. Percy Craven lectured at BYU on "The Course of Human Progress." His visit to campus came near the end of April 1910.

21. Members of the theology faculty were Joseph B. Keeler, professor of theology and religion; President George H. Brimhall; Alfred Osmond, professor of English; William H. Chamberlin, professor of ancient languages and philosophy; Henry Peterson, professor of education; and Joseph Peterson, professor of psychology.

22. For Talmage's views on evolution, see his 1890 address to the Utah County Teachers Association entitled "The Theory of Evolution" (mss. 229, box 2, no. 2, James E. Talmage Papers, BYU Archives). He

tion had never inspired such avid interest among the students.

N. L. Nelson, who was very assertive in his views, had been one of the first to see evolution not only as the basis of a philosophical platform but as a controlling metaphor in his religious essays as well.²³ Besides his training at BYU, Nelson had spent a year studying philosophy and biological science at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and his speculations became more daring in later years.²⁴ However, Nelson's slight training in the biological sciences and his position as professor of composition tended to limit his influence.

Trained thoroughly in biological and physical sciences, Ralph and William Chamberlin saw in the principles of evolution a controlling idea around which not only purely scientific but religious and psychological systems could be structured. They, of course, fit into schools of philosophy and social science which had been extremely influential in American universities for many years. During 1909, the year of the Darwin centennial celebration, Ralph Chamberlin delivered a number of speeches in which he attempted to demonstrate

was in the main committed to the general principles of uniformitarian creationism. The James E. Talmage papers at BYU show that he used his 1890 paper at later periods with little or no alteration. His diary entries are more frank, but never extensive (*see* Journal of James E. Talmage, 4 May 1884, 16 March 1884, and 21 January 1890). George Phillips wrote a short analysis of the impact of evolution, describing the theory as possessing "some modicum of truth" ("Science and Religion," *The Normal* 2 [20 December 1892]: 71-72) and more extensively in *Utah Magazine* in April 1891 and June 1892. He apparently felt comfortable with evolutionary concepts. J. E. Hickman gave a talk at Brigham City on reconciling the six days of creation with science. His views are nowhere clearly explicated. Edwin S. Hinckley, who some thought was an evolutionist, claimed that "part of the theory was erroneous. It rests with someone studying in the light of the Gospel to unravel the mysteries and set people aright" ("Founders Day Exercises," *White and Blue*, 15 October 1900).

23. He claimed that Mormonism was "able to organize the truths of Evolution into a larger whole and supply intelligent motive, moreover, for the origin, trend and final destiny of the Universe" (Nels Lars Nelson, *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism* [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904], p. 77).
24. *See* Nels Lars Nelson, *What Truth Is* (Salt Lake City: Steven & Wallis, 1947, pp. 60-68).

that evolution argued for a rational creation. He said that the doctrine of evolution "demands an ultimate cause as much as any other held as to the mode of creation and to hold it is clearly to pay a much greater tribute to the power and majesty of the creator, for uniformity of method is an indication of strength while irregularity or discontinuity is ever a sign of weakness."²⁵

Unlike James E. Talmage, who only spoke publicly of evolution in guarded generalities, Ralph Chamberlin often spoke out against what he considered to be general misunderstandings of the principle.²⁶ He believed that the theory of evolution did more than explain the origin and development of living organisms; it also explained the origin of man's theological beliefs.²⁷ In an article entitled "The Early Hebrew Concept of the Universe," he wrote: "For, assuredly, it is only as we perceive the constant growth, the constant evolution, in the Bible and recognize in it the progressive unfolding of the divine Will in the Hebrew race that it has its highest meaning for and can teach and stimulate us. It is the progressiveness in the Bible that gives it life; its errancy in many matters that represent merely the accepted views of the day and the people do not weaken, but properly understood, should strengthen the value which it should have for us."²⁸

Ralph's brother William Chamberlin also saw more than a biological mechanism in the system of uniformity. As a

25. Ralph V. Chamberlin, "Darwin Centennial Speech," 12 February 1909, Ralph V. Chamberlin papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

26. When Talmage gave a speech on evolution in 1890, he wrote and read his remarks so there could be "no uncertainty to my expressions. While speaking extemporaneously a person is liable to slip and say the opposite of what he means" (Journal of James E. Talmage, 21 January 1890).

27. See "The Kingdom of Man," Second William Reynolds Memorial Lecture, 20 January 1938; "Evolution and Theological Belief," *White and Blue*, 31 January 1911; and *The Meaning of Organic Evolution*, published in Provo in 1911. This is perhaps his definitive statement on the subject. It includes a brief history of the idea of evolution and a semiphilosophical treatise on the nature of evolution.

28. *White and Blue*, 24 December 1909.

philosopher and theologian, he saw in nature a working, vital expression of divine personality. He considered evolution to be a basic, spiritual principle through which the divinity in nature expressed itself. In his short and jubilant monograph "The Theory of Evolution as an Aid to Faith in God and Belief in the Resurrection," he clearly articulated his religious philosophy: "If a divine purpose is immanent in nature, nature's forms must be thought of as evolving in a way parallel to the unfolding of the divine purpose. The use of the theory [evolution] is a most important means of advancing to a realization of God's immanence in nature and life and a great remover of intellectual difficulties that hamper faith in so many."²⁹ His method, as his brother Ralph explained, was based upon the principle that "the fundamentals of religion could and must be investigated by extending the [empirical] method into the spiritual realm."³⁰ His entire philosophical system, which owed much to several modern philosophers, was called "personalism."³¹

The Chamberlins' approach to the scriptures followed the methodologies of rational exegesis which were common to almost all Bible scholarship at the time.³² In a sacrament

29. *White and Blue*, 14 February 1911. See also his "Essay on Nature" for a more complete definition of his position on the immanence of God in nature as well as a statement of his own social and ethical philosophy. His master's thesis, "The Ultimate Unity for Thought in the Society of Minds," written for G. H. Howison at the University of California, proposed the physical relationship between archaic and modern biological forms as one of the proofs of the unity of thought between the past and the present (see unbound copy of the 1906 thesis in the William H. Chamberlin Biographical File, BYU Archives).

30. R. V. Chamberlin, *W. H. Chamberlin*, p. 113.

31. Apparently significant to his thought were A. K. Rogers's works *The Parallelism of Mind and Body from the Standpoint of Metaphysics*, 1899, and *The Religious Conception of the World*, 1904. According to Ralph Chamberlin, G. H. Howison's *The Limits of Evolution* also influenced his brother William's thought.

32. They frequently followed the pattern of explaining biblical passages in the light of myth and literature rather than revelation. Ralph Chamberlin especially showed the impress of several significant nineteenth and twentieth century authors. Andrew White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 1896; several

meeting held 25 October 1910 William Chamberlin spoke on the Book of Jonah, attempting to show that the Bible contained a number of superstitions that were best understood in the light of parabolic wisdom. He said that “regarding the book as a parable does away with the need of believing the fish story — as fact. It also places beyond the reach of petty critics other stories in the book used merely for purposes of illustration.”³³ Perhaps it was here that the new thought stirred up the most criticism. To move into such sensitive areas, reinterpreting and “de-mythologizing” scriptures regarded by most as inviolably sacrosanct, was inevitably a dangerous operation. As E. E. Ericksen observed, Chamberlin had accustomed himself to treating the most sensitive issues surgeon-like, “saying that he was engaged in cutting out dead tissues . . . from the individual or community. And he must perform the operation without destroying the life of the soul.”³⁴

The Peterson brothers and other teachers also involved themselves in discussion of sensitive issues.³⁵ Joseph Peterson’s work on cognition theory, for instance, led him into discussions of will and behavior which occasionally treated the traditional Mormon concept of the soul rather slightly.³⁶

works of Lyman Abbott (*The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews*, 1901, and *The Theology of an Evolutionist*, 1897); and some of the writings of Thomas H. Huxley (*Science and the Hebrew Tradition*, 1914) were sources which influenced his articles on the concepts of Hebrew religion. The W. H. Chamberlin library contained several twentieth century works on Bible interpretation, including Rudolph Otto’s *Life and Ministry of Jesus According to the Historical and Critical Method*, 1908.

33. “Professor Chamberlin Talks on the Book of Jonah,” *White and Blue*, 25 October 1910.
34. “William H. Chamberlin, Pioneer Philosopher,” *Western Humanities Review*, 8 (Autumn 1954): 279-80.
35. Andrew Rasmussen, Ralph Chamberlin’s biology assistant who later became a renowned biologist, and John C. Swensen were also probably involved in the discussions (see an unpublished letter written by Andrew Rasmussen for the 1933 *Banyan*, Andrew Rasmussen Biographical File, BYU Archives; and “Autobiography of John Canute Swensen,” unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, pp. 18-19).
36. Editor’s Note: A survey of his later lectures shows that Joseph Peterson’s interests were more scientific than philosophical. He was

Henry Peterson apparently left no record of his doctrines before the time of the crisis, though he did write a short article in the *White and Blue* (vol. 14, p. 357) on the value of scientific exploration in which he urged students to gain faith in the scientific method.

At the same time the new teachers were advocating modern scientific views, there were conservative influences on campus. Alfred Osmond, a prolific and traditionalist writer, reacted openly to the spirit of scientism as early as 1891:

LIII

Why should the soul stoop down to barren earth,
And grope among the fossils of debris,
To try and find the secrets of its birth,
When it doth know there's nothing there to see?
Men might as well seek fishes in a tree,
As seek for heaven-born truths in the banks of clay.
There are no secrets where no secrets be —
Why search for night when there is glorious day?
Why stoop to pick up shells when pearls around you lay?

LV

But then, to think man sprang from barren earth!
This beauteous seeming, naught but crumbling clay!
That all the sacred secrets of his birth
Are dragged into the brilliant light of day
By his own wisdom, is at least to say,
A curious thought, though not sublime nor grand,
Nor strong enough to drive the soul away —
'Tis surely strange that man will dig in sand
That he might find himself, and thus scorn God's
command.

LVI

If man would seek to know he came from God
With half the zeal with which he digs in earth,

accused of treating Joseph Smith's visions as psychological phenomena, but no direct statements to that effect have been found. The *Provo Post* reacted strongly to views he expressed at a psychology convention in Chicago in 1914 ("Dr. Joseph Peterson Stirs Chicago with His Soul-less Man Talk," *Provo Post*, 3 July 1914).

His feet within the narrow path would trod;
 And, then, he'd know he was a heavenly birth.
 Is not this knowledge of the greatest worth?³⁷

J. B. Keeler, who wrote a monograph on evolution entitled *Foundation Stones of the Earth*, used Joseph Smith's idea that "this earth was organized or formed out of other planets which were broken up and remodeled and made into the one on which he lived." Keeler maintained that Joseph Smith's idea argued against a creation by organic evolution.³⁸ At a Utah Stake conference in 1909 Orson F. Whitney argued that, in the spiritual creation, "vegetation, fishes and birds and animals had their creation before man, but in the temporal formation, the order was reversed — man was the first flesh upon the earth."³⁹

In general, however, the faculty seemed to side with the new professors, who were articulate spokesmen for modern ideologies. They replaced the older professors as popular lecturers before the Teachers Association and other campus organizations.

Horace H. Cummings and the Modernism Controversy

With the campus in the main sympathetic to the new concepts, the influence of locally educated Horace Hall Cummings became an important factor in the events which occurred in 1911. Cummings had moved the Church school system under the protecting wing of the Church Board of Education and had increasingly stressed the importance of orthodoxy and spirituality in the curriculum of Church schools. His own account of the controversy shows that his reaction to the modernism problem was influenced more by what he considered to be the effect of the new teachings on the lives of

37. Alfred Osmond, *The Poetical Works of Alfred Osmond* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1891), p. 114.

38. *Provo Daily Herald*, 20 April 1909.

39. The phrase "first flesh upon the earth" (Moses 3:7) was much under discussion at the time.

students than by a philosophical examination of the new ideas. Cummings reported that he had perceived a subtle change in the theological and spiritual orientation of some BYU students. On 2 December 1910 he reported to the Church Board of Education that a few of the teachers at BYU were "applying the evolutionary theory and other philosophical hypotheses to principles of the gospel and to the teachings of the Church in such a way as to disturb, if not destroy the faith of the pupils." Cummings was concerned because "Many stake presidents, some of our leading principals and teachers, and leading men who are friends of our schools have expressed deep anxiety to me about this matter."⁴⁰

The 1911 *Banyan* printed a humorous student ditty which emphasized the perplexity of the situation:

I had a bad dream in my sleep last night;
There were Questioning Imps around my bed;
They pulled my ears, and tweaked my nose,
Played in my hair, and danced on my head.

These Questioning Imps flew about in the air
And laughed and danced in fiendish delight;
"We have questions," said they, "a hundred or more
We want no guessing, so answer us right.

"We have heard a great deal about the 'flood,'
The confusion of tongues and the Tower of Babel,
Of the story of the serpent, and Adam and Eve,
But is it not really a myth or a fable?

"Now what do you say about 'the first flesh on earth'?
And we 'challenge' you to answer us if you can,
How you'll reconcile religion and Darwin's idea
Regarding the origin and evolution of man?"

They cried long and loud and shook their heads,
Until they heard the voice of the 'liberal few,'
"Don't you see we must answer in knowledge and reason,
It is time that we're taking the modern view."

40. General Board Minutes, 2 December 1910.

I awoke with a start and rubbed my eyes,
 How dark and chilly the room did seem;
 But there's one question yet that sticks in my mind,
 "Were those Questioning Imps really only a dream?"⁴¹

Mrs. Annie Clark Tanner, a mature student attending BYU in 1911, recorded her favorable and yet anguished response to the new teachings:

Joseph Peterson consented to give a few lectures on the Bible to a group of women. How I enjoyed them! . . . I fully believed that the men who had done research on the old Hebrew records were just as honest as any scientist. Why should we turn down their findings? I must say that I was a little shocked, yet my mind consoled itself with the idea that God is our friend. . . .

To illustrate, one of my greatest disturbances occurred when I learned that the study of Adam and Eve and the Garden of Eden may not be literally true. Its literal acceptance has been one of the important premises of Mormonism. Too, if the story of the Flood came from the legends of a people the Israelites had met in captivity, or if the Book of Jonah was a satire of Jewish self-righteousness and written as a fable to portray that characteristic rather than as history, why accept literally the story of creation as related in the Bible?⁴²

Attempting to calm the situation, Cummings made a series of visits to the campus to talk with the faculty and administration in 1910. However, he had little success in harmonizing the views of the factions that were developing. Despite his

41. In the 30 May 1911 issue of *White and Blue* another campus poet apostrophized science in the following lines:

Stride on, and bid all stubborn foes defiance,
 Let truth and reason reign,
 But I beseech thee, O immortal science,
 Let Christ remain. (Ella Wheeler Wilcox, "Plea to Science," *White and Blue*, 30 May 1911)

42. Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), pp. 187-88.

strongly conservative stance on other occasions, Brimhall had not taken a stand on the modernism controversy. In December 1910 he wrote Joseph F. Smith about the new teachers:

It seems to me that the attitude of these brethren ought to be made clear to the President of the Board of Directors. I believe I understand them. While I believe they are from their point of view perfectly right, still I think they are a little over zealous in their desire to bring people to their point of view. As they look at it, their teachings are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Gospel, but there are certainly many who cannot perceive that harmony, and, therefore, it seems to me that a little waiting with their working will be in keeping with greater wisdom on their part.⁴³

Later in the week he was apparently still defending the teachers. At a faculty meeting held 7 December 1910, "Superintendent Cummings spoke of the criticisms he had heard of the result of some of the teachings here, but was glad to learn through conversation with the [school] Presidency that the matters have been misrepresented."⁴⁴ According to Cummings, Brimhall began to change his position when some BYU students "frankly told him they had quit praying because they learned in school there was no real God to hear them."⁴⁵ Cummings said that Brimhall shortly thereafter reported to him a dream in which Brimhall saw that students were being disarmed of their faith:

He saw several of the BYU professors standing around a peculiar machine on the campus. When one of them touched a spring a baited fish hook attached to a long thin wire rose rapidly into the air. . . .

43. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 3 December 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

44. BYU Faculty Minutes, 7 December 1910.

45. "Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings," 41:6.

Casting his eyes around the sky he [Brimhall] discovered a flock of snow-white birds circling among the clouds and desporting themselves in the sky, seemingly very happy. Presently one of them, seeing the bait on the hook, darted toward it and grabbed it. Instantly one of the professors on the ground touched a spring in the machine, and the bird was rapidly hauled down to the earth.

On reaching the ground the bird proved to be a BYU student, clad in an ancient Greek costume, and was directed to join a group of other students who had been brought down in a similiar manner. Brother Brimhall walked over to them, and noticing that all of them looked very sad, discouraged and downcast, he asked them:

"Why, students, what on earth makes you so sad and downhearted?"

"Alas, we can never fly again!" they replied with a sigh and a sad shake of the head.

Their Greek philosophy had tied them to the earth. They could believe only what they could demonstrate in the laboratory. Their prayers could go no higher than the ceiling. They could see no heaven — no hereafter.⁴⁶

Cummings claimed that Brimhall's dream and his contact with disillusioned students "seemed to awaken in President Brimhall a realization of what was going on in the school, and he gave me the most enthusiastic support thereafter in setting things right."⁴⁷

After careful consideration of the problem, Cummings decided that he, as superintendent of Church schools, had both the right and the duty to exercise his authority in the matter. Cummings deferred making an oral report to the General Church Board in December and spent January making a carefully worded written report which he submitted to the General Board on 3 February 1911. The report, dated 21 January 1911, contained, among others, the following charges against the professors:

46. Ibid. Brimhall did not mention the dream in any of his papers.

47. "Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings," 45:6.

1. The teachers were following the "higher criticism" of Lyman Abbott, treating the Bible as "a collection of myths, folk-lore, dramas, literary productions, history and some inspiration."
2. They rejected the flood, the confusion of tongues, the miracle of the Red Sea, and the temptation of Christ as real phenomena.
3. They said John the Revelator was not translated but died in the year A.D. 96.
4. "The theory of evolution is treated as a demonstrated law and their applications of it to gospel truths give rise to many curious and conflicting explanations of scripture."
5. The teachers carried philosophical ideas too far: (1) "They believed sinners should be pitied and enlightened rather than blamed or punished." (2) and they believed that "we should never agree. God never made two things alike. Only by taking different views of a thing can its real truth be seen."
6. The teachers said that "memory gems are immoral."
7. The professors taught that "All truths change as we change. Nothing is fixed or reliable."
8. They also taught that "Visions and revelations are mental suggestions. The objective reality of the presence of the Father and the Son, in Joseph Smith's first vision, is questioned."

Cummings concluded his report by saying that the professors "seem to feel that they have a mission to protect the young from the errors of their parents." He urged that some means be found "to bring into harmony the theological teachings in our Church schools and prevent the dissemination of doubt or false doctrine." He advised the Church Board that the teachers had been warned by himself and the presidency of the school "not to press their views with such vigor," that, even if they were right, "conditions were not suitable" for their dogmatic approach. However, after the warning the teachers seemed even more "defiant in pushing their beliefs upon the students." Cummings named Henry and Joseph Peterson and Ralph Chamberlin as three "principle offenders," who, "from

an educational standpoint,” were “perhaps the strongest men in the institution.”⁴⁸ According to the minutes of the meeting, Brimhall agreed with Cummings’s observations:

Brother Brimhall, the President of the institution, expressed himself to the effect that the only thing that he could see to do was to get rid of these teachers. He had patiently labored with them in the hope that they would change their attitude and abstain from thrusting their objectionable views before the classes but it seemed that they were more determined than ever to teach theology according to their own ideas and theories, instead of according to the revealed truth, and he therefore saw no alternative but to dispense with their services.⁴⁹

John Henry Smith made a motion that a special committee be appointed to investigate the charges, talk with the professors, and report their recommendations to the Trustees of Brigham Young University. The motion was passed by the General Board, and Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant, Hyrum M. Smith, Charles W. Penrose, George F. Richards, George H. Brimhall, and Horace H. Cummings were requested to act as the committee.

Special Committee Hearing

On 11 February 1911 the committee appointed to investigate the charges invited Joseph Peterson, Henry Peterson, and Ralph Chamberlin to Salt Lake City for a hearing. According to Ralph Chamberlin, the hearing came as a total surprise: “We never had the slightest intimation that we were being singled out. We didn’t know when we rode up on the train and we couldn’t figure out why we were being

48. General Board Minutes, 3 February 1911. See appendices for a complete text of Cumming’s report to the General Board.

49. Ibid. Around the end of January Brimhall told the faculty that negative attitudes and “criticism of leaders should be kept in the background.” He urged them to be loyal to “the heroes of Mormondom.” *White and Blue* said, “A vigorous discussion was provoked by the President’s remarks” (“BYU Teachers Hold Institute,” *White and Blue*, 31 January 1911).

summoned. . . . We were suddenly brought into a room with six of the top dignitaries of the Church to try us.”⁵⁰ All three of the professors later complained that they were given no copy of the charges and that they were not allowed a proper hearing in which to defend themselves. Henry Peterson told the committee that he “had nothing in my heart that I would not freely tell them; and so, in response to their questions I told my individual belief as freely as what I had been teaching. There was no stenographer to take it down and hence nothing to aid the memory of those to whom our thoughts were new and perhaps strange.”⁵¹ Henry Peterson denied all charges of having corrupted the faith of his students, stating that on one or two occasions he had been mistakenly blamed for the teachings of another professor.⁵²

The committee decided that Cummings’ complaints were

50. Ralph V. Chamberlin, BYU Archives Oral History Collection, p. 9.

51. Henry Peterson to Joseph F. Smith, 3 April 1911, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

52. Editor’s Note: Perhaps the most meritorious of the teachers’ grievances was that they were never given a specification of the charges made against them. But the report of the superintendent which was read to them was very specific. Moreover, the conduct of the General Board at that time cannot be judged by today’s standards. At that time there was no requirement for a hearing or even a specification of charges. Indeed, the present concept of “due process” which accords a hearing before a teacher may be dismissed even by a state institution seems not to have been decided by the United States Supreme Court until 1952 (*Wieman v. Updegroff*, 344 U.S. 183), and even today the Supreme Court seems not to have determined the obligations of a private school with respect to a hearing and notices, if any, that are required. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe that the Petersons and Chamberlin were taken completely by surprise, but it is obvious they did not have opportunity to prepare a full “defense” as it is understood in 1975. The controversy had swirled vigorously on the campus. They had been interrogated by at least Brimhall, Keeler, and Cummings. They probably knew in general why they were being hailed to Salt Lake City. Both Ralph Chamberlin and Henry Peterson admitted they were given the opportunity to express their views. This is substantiated by the report of the Board committee which states that the committee listened to the statements of the three professors “concerning each item in the superintendent’s report.” However, in the nature of things, the teachers were allowed to make only an impromptu defense.

“substantially correct,” and they recommended that the services of the three professors be dispensed with unless they altered their teachings.⁵³ Their decision was approved by the BYU Board of Trustees. To at least some of the Brethren sitting on the Church Board of Education, the whole episode was shocking. Anthon Lund called it a “crisis,”⁵⁴ and President Joseph F. Smith wrote his son, “For my sake, my son, as well as your own, eschew the Petersons’ and Chamberlins’ evolution and all such things.”⁵⁵ George F. Richards wrote, “The extent to which evolution and higher criticism is gaining ground among our school teachers is something alarming. The effects of such teachings in the BYU of Provo are indeed alarming.”⁵⁶ Orson F. Whitney gave still more sermons on the subject, and B. H. Roberts lectured at BYU, asserting “that the higher critics had gone too far in their contentions.”⁵⁷

When details of the hearing with its subsequent ultimatum to the professors were given to the press, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Provo Daily Herald* both sided with the teachers, declaring that the committee’s decision shook not only Brigham Young University but the entire Church Educational System.⁵⁸ They felt the committee’s decision was a gross violation of the professors’ rights of academic freedom. The editor of the *Utah Educational Review* agreed that Church officials

53. “Special Committee Report Relative to Religious Teachings,” BYU Board Minutes, 11 February 1911.
54. Journal of Anthon H. Lund, 3 February 1911.
55. Joseph F. Smith to Andrew Smith, 25 February 1911, Joseph F. Smith Papers.
56. Diary of George F. Richards, 21 February 1911, Church Historical Department.
57. See “Discourses and Lectures” and “Elder B. H. Roberts,” *White and Blue* news supplement, 28 March 1911.
58. See the following articles in the *Provo Herald*: “BYU Professors Give Side of Controversy,” 21 February 1911; “A Reader’s View of the BYU Muddle,” 21 February 1911; “Students of the BYU Endorse Professors,” 14 March 1911; and “Plain Statement from Professor Peterson,” 17 March 1911. See also the following articles in the *Salt Lake Tribune*: “BYU Faculty Is Shaken Up,” 12 March 1911; “BYU Students Destroy Reply of Presidency and Make Public the Protest They Formulated,” 16 March 1911; and “BYU Students Adopt Protest,” 15 March 1911.

had the legal right to restrict certain teachings, but he feared that these restrictions would hamper the progress of the University: "Will the placing of restrictions upon teachings, especially in scientific subjects, promote or hinder the discovery of truth? What effect will the restriction have upon the future of the Church?"⁵⁹ Unlike other Utah newspapers, the *Deseret News* viewed the controversy as a minor incident which would have no far-reaching effects on the school.⁶⁰

Concerned with the modernism issue, many students at BYU signed a petition against the dismissal of the teachers and the discontinuance of the controversial classes.⁶¹ The petition stated:

In the first place, we believe that freedom of investigation is a fundamental necessity for all scientific, religious or any other kind of progress, and that we, of all people, can least afford to take any stand against it, or do anything that will be interpreted as such a stand.

. . . While we are free to admit that in the new light some points of doctrine as we have understood them lose their former color, we see a deeper meaning in life than before, additional evidence of an all-wise God and a new, a holier significance on the message of Mormonism and all other revelations of God to man.

It is simply not a question of dropping the professors who have criticized, but we believe that the proposed policy, if persisted in, can amount to nothing else than a death blow to our college work, because it is impossible to secure men equal in scholarship to the ones we have, who are so thoroughly in sympathy with the Church, who do

59. Milton Bennion, "The 'Evolution' and 'Higher Criticism' Controversy at the Brigham Young University," *Utah Educational Review* 4 (April 1911): 9. See also Joseph Peterson, "The Blessings of Science and Evils of Pseudo Science," *Utah Educational Review* 4 (May 1911): 13-14.

60. "The Facts in the Trouble at Provo," *Deseret News*, 17 March 1911.

61. According to the *Provo Herald* (17 March 1911), ninety percent of the college student body signed the petition. The *Deseret News* (17 March 1911) countered, saying the percentage was much smaller than that. The *Provo Herald's* estimate was probably the more accurate of the two.

not give credence to the same objectionable theories.⁶²

To the students who signed the petition the action of the Board seemed to be a step away from the scientific progress spearheaded by the three professors who generally described the confrontation as a conflict between science and religious fundamentalism.

Though many felt that the professors' ideas about the theory of evolution resulted in their dismissal, the issue ran much deeper than that.⁶³ In a diplomatically worded article that appeared in the February 1911 issue of the *Juvenile Instructor*, President Joseph F. Smith, who was the only man that could speak for the whole Church, explained the action of the Church Board of Education:

Some questions have arisen about the attitude of the Church on certain discussions of philosophy in the Church schools. Philosophical discussions, as we understand them, are open questions about which men of sci-

62. Ralph Chamberlin's *Life and Philosophy of W. H. Chamberlin* (pp. 140 ff) gives a complete copy of the petition. An identical copy in the Brimhall Presidential Papers (box 18, folder 3) carries the signatures of eight students: C. V. Whitaker, C. H. Carroll, G. L. Lucke, H. C. Snell, E. Thompson, H. M. Woodward, Fred Buss, and Andrew Gibbons. The names printed with the *Daily Herald* copy of the petition included almost the entire college class. The most complete text (with more than one hundred signatures) was printed in the 15 March 1911 issue of the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

63. Since the action of the Church Board of Education had permitted the teachers to remain if they changed their teachings, school officials, recognizing the worth of the teachers, attempted to labor with them so that some desirable adjustment could be made. When the men said they could not stop teaching what they believed, it fell to Brimhall and Keeler to terminate their employment. Joseph Peterson resigned at the end of the term and went to the University of Utah, then Minnesota, then George Peabody College for Teachers in Tennessee. Ralph Chamberlin stayed for a time and then returned to the University of Utah. He later applied to return to Brigham Young University, but he was never seriously considered again for a teaching position at the school. Henry Peterson, who continued to call for another hearing, went to the Box Elder County Schools, was dismissed, and later went to Utah State Agricultural College where he taught until retirement. W. H. Chamberlin later left BYU of his own choice because of what he considered to be persecutory actions against him.

ence are very greatly at variance. . . . Students are very apt to draw the conclusion that whichever side of a controversial question they adopt is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and it is very doubtful, therefore, whether the great mass of our students have sufficient discriminating judgment to understand very much some of the advanced theories of philosophy or science.

. . . Some of our teachers are anxious to explain how much of the theory of evolution, in their judgment, is true, and what is false, but that only leaves their students in an unsettled frame of mind. They are not old enough and learned enough to discriminate, or put proper limitations upon a theory which we believe is more or less a fallacy. In reaching the conclusion that evolution would be best left out of discussion in our Church schools we are deciding a question of propriety and are not undertaking to say how much of evolution is true, or how much is false. . . . The Church itself has no philosophy about the *modus operandi* employed by the Lord in His creation of the world, and much of the talk therefore about the philosophy of Mormonism is altogether misleading. God has revealed to us a simple and effectual way of serving Him, and we should regret very much to see the simplicity of those revelations involved in all sorts of philosophical speculations. If we encouraged them it would not be long before we should have a theological scholastic aristocracy in the Church, and we should therefore not enjoy the brotherhood that now is, or should be common to rich and poor, learned and unlearned among the Saints.

Brimhall was deeply embarrassed by the controversy. Caught between opposing factions, he at first attempted to be conciliatory. However, when an exercise in administrative diplomacy suddenly became an issue of faith Brimhall stoutly supported the Church. Edwin S. Hinckley, his counselor, also affirmed, "My lot is cast with the Church and I know no other organization that is half so dear to me."⁶⁴ Explaining his

64. Edwin S. Hinckley to George H. Brimhall, 24 February 1911, BYU Papers, Church Historical Department.

decision to dismiss the teachers, Brimhall wrote his friend Victor Bean, "We knew in whom we trusted. . . . There was a splendid chance . . . for some of us to have followed the multitude and have them throw their caps in the air for us, but I would rather be a Moses on the mount with all of Israel against me, than Aaron at the altar of the Golden calf with all of Israel dancing around and praising me."⁶⁵ To Reed Smoot, one of his most intimate associates, Brimhall described his own personal struggle to come to a decision, his regrets for being too slow to act, and his loyalty to Church leaders:

I have been hoping for a year or two past that harmony could be secured by waiting, but the delays have been fraught with increased danger. There is a possibility yet, but not a probability of adjustment. The school cannot go off and leave the Church in any line of activity without perishing in the desert. My mind has been thoroughly made up for sometime. Ever since the last vacation I have suffered much anxiety, and it has increased and increased until the investigation was instituted. I recognize now that a more vigorous course of action on my part might have been better, but I was lenient, and patiently hopeful that men would change gradually as they have in other cases, but the storm, instead of dying out, increased in its fury. I feel now that nothing short of a public retraction should be accepted as a guarantee that these men will preserve an attitude of being in harmony with the spirit of the school and the doctrines of the Church as preached by the living oracles. I do not believe that with the present attitude they can be patriotic — loyally patriotic, to the Prophets of the hour in Israel.

. . . The going of these professors will perhaps disturb the college and interfere with its immediate growth. They will have a following, but like the Church, in a short time the school will not only retrieve its losses, but out of the accident God will bring glory to the institution until it will be said, "It is a good thing it happened." There are some people who predict the death of the college if these men go. I am ready to say that if the life of the college depends

65. Brimhall to Bean, 27 March 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

upon any number of men out of harmony with the brethren who preside over the Church, then it is time for the college to die. I would rather the Maeser Memorial remain a sealed tomb containing our college hopes and ambitions until the day of a new educational resurrection than to have its doors thrown open to influences antagonistic to the heroism, inspiration and revelation of those who have made the school and who have the right to say, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The school follows the Church, or it ought to stop.⁶⁶

The Crisis in Retrospect

In retrospect some viewed the modernism controversy as a natural reaction to the onslaught of new and enlightened ideas against prejudice and ignorance.⁶⁷ Others saw it as a kind of "faculty revolt" in which the more educated members of the faculty, taking advantage of certain powers delegated to them, attempted to take control of the administration of the school.⁶⁸ Still others considered it to be the simple result of teachers advocating false and worldly doctrines.⁶⁹

Some people asserted that the teachers were not dismissed strictly because of their teachings, but because of their hostile and belligerent attitude. On 1 June 1912 N. L. Nelson, who had expressed views in favor of evolution and who was considered a liberal in his thinking, wrote Brimhall, "My understanding at the time was that he [Henry Peterson] was

66. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 8 March 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

67. R. V. Chamberlin was the outstanding exponent of this view. See *History of W. H. Chamberlin*, pp. 137ff. See also Henry Peterson to Joseph F. Smith, 3 April 1911, Joseph F. Smith Papers; and "A Reader's View of the Muddle at BYU," *Provo Herald*, 7 March 1911.

68. See Harvey Fletcher Oral History, BYU Archives, pp. 42-43; and Eugene Hilton to Harvard Heath, BYU Centennial History Correspondence File, BYU Archives.

69. Cummings, of course, was the strongest exponent of this view. It was also the general view of many Church officials immediately after the crisis. Cummings wrote Brimhall on 16 February 1911, "All the Brethren seem to feel the great importance of setting this part of the work right in your school" (Brimhall Presidential Papers).

held to account for his interpretation of the creation as not being literally seven days and of the Jonah episode as possibly being a parable rather than a historical event — and for like interpretations of the scripture. I did not dream that it was for the Spirit of his opposition that he was called to account. Had I been there, you would have had no stauncher supporter of the authority of the school or of the Church.”⁷⁰ Perhaps Nelson’s letter explains why W. H. Chamberlin and certain faculty members who were also sympathetic to modernistic theories were not dismissed.

Following the Brethren

The significant implications of the events of 1911 concerned authority. Brimhall had been slow to react and reluctant to exercise authority when he might have avoided the catastrophe; however, he became acutely aware that the Church Board was the governing power in the Church school system. After the modernism controversy died down Brimhall was much more sensitive to the attitude of the Church Board of Education concerning academic matters.⁷¹

70. Nelson to Brimhall, 6 January 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

71. Brimhall explained to Reed Smoot that he had
 what I call a conscience of confidence and believe I have a conscience of judgment and hope always to be in a condition that I can question my own judgment and choose in the direction of the judgment of the authority which I recognize and have chosen to be my counselors, advisors and directors. To illustrate: Isaac decided it would be the right thing for him to do to follow his father’s policy and go down into Egypt during the famine, but the Lord advised otherwise. He must have immediately questioned his own judgment and set it aside in light of his confidence in the advice and counsel of the advisor he had chosen. This principle in my mind holds good even when we do not have direct revelation from God. . . . The boy must question his judgment in the presence of the judgment of his father. He will be safe to follow the conscience of confidence rather than the conscience of judgment. Just as the surveyor must set aside his judgment when it conflicts with the bearing of the needle in the compass. (Brimhall to Smoot, 14 February 1912)

Obedience to authority became one of Brimhall’s favorite topics:

To him and to many of the teachers, the events of 1911 punctuated the need for obedience to authority in the Church schools. Thereafter he made certain that all new teachers knew they were required to submit to Church authority, and Brimhall clearly outlined to them his personal views with regard to ecclesiastical authority.

Into the Maelstrom: Threatened and Saved

As soon as conditions in the school stabilized, Brimhall occupied himself with finding new faculty members. He wrote Dr. Harvey Fletcher, a promising young physicist studying under Robert Millikan at the University of Chicago. Brimhall said, "If Harvey was my own son I would write him to come home."⁷² Harvey came. Brimhall secured the services of Beatrice Camp, who had taught at Fielding Academy,⁷³ and A. B. Christensen.⁷⁴ William Ward returned to teach mathematics,⁷⁵ and some able student assistants were also recruited.

Brimhall feared that the Church Board of Education would overreact to the disturbance of 1911 and withhold needed funds from the Collegiate Department. The Church education appropriations committee apportioned \$50,000 to BYU high school for the 1911-12 academic year, with the request

"George H. Brimhall gave a brief history of recent events pertaining to the criticism of the work of the school, and impressed upon the teachers the necessity of all members heartily supporting the school and the Church and taking an attitude of everything for the school and the Church" (BYU Faculty Minutes, 23 March 1911). *See also* BYU Faculty Minutes, 4 March 1913, which mention the necessity of following the "living oracles": "President Brimhall on Standards of Conduct," *White and Blue*, 25 October 1912; and BYU Board Minutes, 25 October 1911, where a new contract was introduced which specified loyalty to Church authorities as a requirement of faculty members.

72. Brimhall to Fletcher, 2 February 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
73. George H. Brimhall to Beatrice Camp, 7 February 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
74. BYU Board Minutes, 24 October 1911; "Our New College Building," *White and Blue*, 24 October 1911.
75. "Special Course Planned for BYU," *Provo Post*, 18 July 1912.

that the school submit a separate budget for the college. Brimhall submitted a college budget of \$25,000, a rather ambitious figure for that time, but an amount which he felt was needed.⁷⁶ When the college budget was examined by the committee on appropriations, George H. Brimhall defended the school's need for increased funds. Horace H. Cummings described the dramatic meeting in his autobiography:

The Presidency of the school met with the committee and explained the need of the increase with much detail and with great earnestness. Having recently been given the Task of doing all the college work of the Church schools, and the loss of three of their strongest teachers in the recent trouble, made them feel the necessity of spending more money to improve the school to keep it alive and growing.

. . . The entire forenoon was spent by them in arguing and pleading for the increase, and with an earnestness rarely exceeded, but they seemed to have no weight with the committee. I thought they had been given instructions from the President not to increase the appropriations in any event.

. . . For a time it seemed to me that an increase was absolutely out of the question, and it looked like the College was doomed.

But one of the Apostles near the close of a speech remarked that it was an inopportune time to close the Teachers College, just after the trouble with those teachers. . . . As soon as he sat down another sprang to his feet and made an animated speech along the same lines, giving other reasons for continuing the school.

Others followed in quick succession, until all had expressed themselves in favor of giving all needed help to the school. All seemed to feel alike and exactly opposite from what they felt in the forenoon. A motion was made and carried unanimously to recommend the increase.

"What will the President say when we make our re-

76. BYU Presidency to BYU Board of Trustees, 29 April 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

port?" asked one of the Apostles of Pres. Lyman, the chairman. "Why, he will feel just as happy as we do about it," he replied, patting his breast with his hand to indicate how happy he felt within.⁷⁷

The decision proved very important for Brigham Young University. The appropriation of \$25,000 did much to revitalize the morale of the faculty and administration of the school for that year. The Church had reaffirmed its commitment to teacher training.⁷⁸

Even with the \$25,000 appropriation, some distressing problems remained. The school administration had continued to spend money that it did not have until debt became a threat to Brigham Young University's existence. Though the visitorial committee of the Board of Trustees resolved to aid the school, the task was almost impossible.⁷⁹ The Maeser Memorial had been opened only through the efforts of the Alumni Association, which signed notes for \$16,000 still owed to the contractors.⁸⁰ In order to furnish and heat the new building, BYU applied for still another appropriation from the Church Board of Education and received \$15,000, bringing the total appropriation from Salt Lake City for the 1911-12 school year to \$90,000.⁸¹ Still, the school remained deeply in debt.⁸²

77. "Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings," 42:2-3.

78. Because of the tremendous demand for teachers in the state schools, the Church Board of Education also decided to allow Brigham Young College at Logan to resume its normal training program (General Board Minutes, 31 May 1911).

79. Report of the Visitorial Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees, 15 March 1911, UA 148, BYU Archives.

80. General Board Minutes, 30 August 1911.

81. BYU Presidency to Joseph F. Smith, 3 October 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

82. Arthur Winter, secretary of the Church Board of Education, wrote E. H. Holt, secretary of Brigham Young University, on 11 May 1911, "One item struck me that I will call your attention to: Last year you reported \$25,918.55 as the school indebtedness. This year's report indicates it as having been paid during the year, and yet you still show a cash indebtedness of \$37,831.48."

Fixed Enrollment

In an August 1911 meeting of the Church Board of Education, Richard R. Lyman "remarked that so far as establishing new schools was concerned, it was pretty well determined now that we had all that the Church could afford to take care of, at least for some time, and he wondered whether the time had not come to determine how many students each school should be allowed to have, so that the expense of running the schools might be put upon a more definite basis."⁸³ In February 1912 President Joseph F. Smith notified George Brimhall that "the maximum number of students you will be allowed to enroll has been placed at 1,300 for the high school and 250 for the college, and the maximum number of paid teachers at 60 for the high school and 15 for the college."⁸⁴ Increasing college enrollment while cutting back high school enrollment had once been a feasible alternative in the event of tight money, but this action by the Church Board fixed its appropriation on an optimum number of high school students as well as college students, thus reinforcing the decision of 1911 to keep both budgets separate. Furthermore, the \$25,000 appropriation of 1911, which was conditioned upon no further increase "for five years," soon proved insufficient, and BYU was faced with increasingly dangerous annual deficits.⁸⁵ In 1906 disbursements amounted to \$80,000. By 1911 they had grown to \$97,200, and by 1913-14 the total expenditures of the school were in excess of \$120,900. The local Board was finding itself increasingly unable to cope with growing deficits.

In addition to economic problems, the faculty still had not

83. General Board Minutes, 30 August 1911.

84. Smith to Brimhall, 7 February 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

85. BYU Board Minutes, 29 April 1911. The General Church Board committee on appropriations stated in its report for 1913 that "The Presidency of the Church Teachers College gave the strongest assurances when \$25,000 was first set aside for its use that no requests for an increase would be made for five years. This amount is \$125 for each student now enrolled. As your committee was instructed not to exceed the appropriations of last year we do not recommend the raise asked for this school, though we deem it not an excessive request for college work" (General Board Minutes, 12 February 1913).

attained the stature it had some years previous. In 1908-9 there were thirty-two teachers of professional status at the school. In 1911-12 the number was twenty-seven. In 1912-13 the figure rose, but it fell again in subsequent years and never did reach the level of 1908-9 again until 1920. The number of faculty members holding doctor's degrees or master's degrees did not come up to the 1911 level until 1915-16. The 25 November 1911 *White and Blue* predicted that the college would "develop in power and prestige, in quantity and quality, as never before," but the facts showed otherwise. While Brimhall himself continued to affirm the school's successful development "in spite of the prophets of Baal,"⁸⁶ statistics showed that by 1913 the academic work (apart from enrollment) at Brigham Young University was slowing down.

Seeking Financial Solutions

While enrollment increased in 1912-13 and Brimhall predicted still higher enrollment, the Board of Trustees had to struggle with the continual pressures of the school's financial problems. After the death of Board member John Henry Smith, Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, son of President Joseph F. Smith, was elected to the Board of Trustees. His election was hailed as a great contribution to the Board. Yet the Board still needed the support of members who could devote their time and energy to improving the financial condition of the school. Most members of the executive committee, composed of Jesse Knight, Jonathan Page, Jr., Joseph Murdock, Wilson Dusenberry, and Reed Smoot (who, while serving in the Senate of the United States, still maintained his domicile in Provo and was active in the affairs of BYU) were local men who were conscious of the school's financial needs. They carefully studied different methods of raising funds. In January 1912 the registration fee was raised to \$20,⁸⁷ and in August the executive committee reported the sale of the old Arts Build-

86. George H. Brimhall to Victor Bean, 27 March 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

87. BYU Board Minutes, 27 January 1912.

ing (Probert Building) to Oscar Hyde of Provo for \$3,000. They also recommended that the University dispose of what remained of the two hundred acres of bench land which Jesse Knight had given the school in 1906. This initiated considerable activity in real estate for the next few years.

The Board, however, could not meet the financial needs of the school. In addition to supplying all funds which exceeded the \$75,000 ceiling of appropriations from the Church Board of Education, they were faced with the necessity of liquidating assets in order to reduce overall indebtedness and pay rapidly accumulating interest. The need for improved facilities on lower campus added still more strain. Unable to cope with the school's existing financial conditions, the Board could do little to foster new programs or initiate construction on the proposed college campus. Every economic resource had been exhausted, and the period of physical growth had, for the time being, come to an end.

Returning to Basics

These conditions continued to exist during the remainder of Brimhall's administration. Enrollment ceilings, debts, and the rising influence of churchwide administrators who were inclined to regard BYU solely in light of its relationship to the entire system forced the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees to see that the school's period of "local determination" was about to end. The Board of Trustees no longer had the major financial power in the school, nor was the president himself able to set the academic or administrative course of the school without considering the entire Church school system. Conscious of BYU's new relationship with the Church Board of Education, Brimhall began to reemphasize pedagogical and vocational training over traditional university work. He stressed the school's role as a denominational and religious institution, and BYU's Collegiate Department paused on a plateau during the latter years of the Brimhall Administration.

In Horace Cummings's mind, "The most urgent need, educationally, in the Church" was, "without doubt, teachers

trained in Church schools.”⁸⁸ Brimhall agreed. He said, “We are not the geologists nor the biologists nor the sociologists of the world — more than anything else we are the teachers of the world.”⁸⁹ President Brimhall outlined his personal philosophy of the role of the Church university to F. F. Hintze, a young LDS scholar. It was a credo of practicality, echoing President Smith’s *Juvenile Instructor* article which had stressed the need for basic and practical education in Church schools. By implication it sketched the future of Brigham Young University during the duration of his administration:

I have looked the field over very carefully and am at a loss to know where in our Church school system we could expend money for special research work at the expense of eliminating work that we are now doing, and we are doing quite as much as we can do with the means at our command.

. . . I only wish that we had the means to equip an expedition of geological and archaeological research workers in connection with this institution and keep them in the field and furnish the world as you say rather than being compelled to be furnished by them; but from the present outlook we are obliged to say we cannot afford it just now.

It will not do for us to strike an attitude of pedantism. It must never be said of us that “Chill penury repressed their noble rage and froze the genial current of their souls.” Ambition may be suspended, but never repressed. The genial current of progress in our souls may be made to run slowly but it must never freeze.⁹⁰

Though Brimhall spoke of a suspension rather than a repression of ambition, he never really focused on purely academic work again. To James L. Barker, one of the great teachers of

88. Horace H. Cummings to George H. Brimhall, 18 December 1912, Church Board of Education Papers, Church Historical Department.

89. Brimhall to Cummings, 16 December 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

90. George H. Brimhall to F. F. Hintze, 8 January 1913, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

BYU and the Church, he wrote, "I believe in the line of languages you have gone far enough. In the line of education you can scarcely go too far."⁹¹

High school work at BYU held its own in 1912-13 and in 1913-14. Contrary to some predictions, it showed no signs of fading out of the Brigham Young University academic program.⁹² This was due in part to the enrollment ceiling established by the General Board of Education and in part to Brimhall's own desire. Without a high school program, Brimhall knew that BYU would have vacant rooms and half-empty classes. Brimhall continued to emphasize basic coursework. Although the faculty decided the school should institute graduate work for the M. A. degree in 1912, Brimhall did little to carry the plan forward until 1916, four years after the initial action by the faculty.

During the last years of Brimhall's administration, BYU was especially sensitive to its role as a religious institution, which accorded with the general views and policies of the Church Board of Education during the same period. Brimhall was determined to make BYU universally acceptable to the religious community, incorporating moral and theological training as an integral part of the school's academic program. Horace Cummings's programs, including Church summer schools, annual Church school conferences, and attendance at national education conventions, along with his own personal lectures and visits to Church schools, invariably focused on religious matters, emphasizing the importance of testimony building and moral instruction.⁹³

91. Brimhall to Barker, 21 January 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers. Barker later became head of the Department of Modern Languages at the University of Utah. His knowledge of the French language was such that he was often invited to France to judge speaking contests.

92. "Brigham Young University: A Growing Institution," *Provo Herald*, 18 December 1913.

93. Cummings was quoted in the 6 October 1913 issue of the *Provo Herald* as saying that the purpose of summer school was "to give opportunity to correlate theology with the other branches, and to teach the methods of such correlation . . . to stem the progress of the 'evolution tide' and to give acceleration to that of revelation, the thing at the base

Following his earlier custom of proselyting the Church for recruits, Brimhall promoted BYU through public relations activities which stressed the religious nature of the school.⁹⁴ Missionary work, theology classes, and devotional speakers received special attention at BYU.⁹⁵ An editorial which appeared in the 27 October 1913 issue of the *Provo Herald* caught the spirit of the times. It noted that the school had "struggled on and on" for nearly forty years "to become a great center of learning":

Its students and faculty have been a unit in the work of

of all the teachings of the Church, and which the 'evolution' and 'higher criticism' wave tends to obliterate" (*see also* General Board Minutes, 29 December 1913). At Church school conferences, "Departments were conducted to standardize and make more uniform our theological work, and others to work out how the truths of the gospel can be used to explain and enforce the various subjects of the text books" (General Board Minutes, 30 September 1914). Attendance at national education conventions always entailed missionary experiences for Cummings (*see* "Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings," 43:2-3; and General Board Minutes, 1 April 1914). Cummings and Brimhall were prominent at these conventions, and the two did much to establish the reputation of Mormon education among the high schools of the nation (Journal of Horace H. Cummings, 26 June 1918).

94. Brimhall wrote James L. Brown on 3 July 1911 to encourage him to "boom" the Church School (Brimhall Presidential Papers). *See also* BYU Faculty Minutes, 2 October 1913, for publicity work done during the summer of 1913; and a letter of 2 April 1912 to Horace H. Cummings where Brimhall puts a great deal of pressure on the Murdock Academy to recruit for BYU (Brimhall Presidential Papers).
95. *See* George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 12 December 1912 (Brimhall Presidential Papers); Brimhall to Rudger Clawson, 27 March 1913 (Brimhall Presidential Papers). Brimhall wrote J. B. Keeler on 22 February 1912, "We hope to bring about a condition of interest in theological work to the extent that the profitable discussion of theological problems will occupy just a little more of the student's leisure time than the discussion of any other division of his work in the school" (Brimhall Presidential Papers). In 1912 the school Founders Day float featured a queen representing theology surrounded by her attendants representing the other sciences ("BYU Founders Day Celebrated by the School," *Provo Post*, 17 October 1912). The special Lyceum speakers in 1913 were David Starr Jordan, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, John Guncle, and Roald Amundsen, persons far more conservative than the speakers in 1911.

advancing the ideals of the school's founder, and because of the struggle, hundreds of men and women point with pride today to their Alma Mater as the one place that gave them the inspiration to become students and men and women of character in the affairs of life. No school in America has ever had higher standards of morals.

Stranded on the Rocks of Distress

While the years 1914 through 1916 saw many changes in the faculty and administration at Brigham Young University, these changes were overshadowed by the serious financial difficulties of the school. The Maeser Memorial, for which the Alumni Association went deeply into debt, had become a great liability. In order to pay off deficits and rapidly growing interest, the Board of Trustees decided to buy and sell land with hopes of making some profit. This program of speculation, which was probably initiated by Jesse Knight's endowments of land and irrigation property, was unsuccessful and ultimately added to the school's expanding budgetary deficits. BYU soon faced a serious financial crisis.

In April 1914 Brimhall informed Reed Smoot that the school was in "arrears financially," that "a trimming must take place. . . . Last year we gave notice to the Board that in order to carry on the school as we have carried it on would mean a deficit of \$6,500.00. The Board said, 'carry it on,' as we had means in sight in the sale of land, but you know what a 'slump' there has been in real estate and we have been left stranded." He hoped wistfully "that some tidal wave of universal prosperity" would lift the school "off the rock of distress into fair sailing again."⁹⁶

In 1914 the school purchased for investment ten acres of land on Temple Hill called the "Keeler-Brimhall and Draper tracts" or the "Manavu townsite."⁹⁷ The student body assisted in purchasing the land, but the venture moved too slowly to

96. Brimhall to Smoot, 30 April 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

97. BYU Archives, UA 146, 6 May 1914; BYU Faculty Minutes, 2 March 1917.

bring much relief to the school.⁹⁸ Brimhall wrote bravely to Smoot, "I could stand to lose my own home, go out and live in a tent better than I could stand to see the youth of Israel . . . meet when they come here closed doors or a poor bill of fare. It cannot be! Surely, the school is an institution of destiny."⁹⁹

The financial situation became so acute that there were unofficial reports that the school was to be closed and moved to Salt Lake City to be consolidated with LDSU.¹⁰⁰ Whether the report was true or not, the situation was grave; the school owed more than \$185,000. At a Board of Trustees meeting held 15 June 1914 the administration was ordered to liquidate the school's assets by reducing the price of its acreage for sale from \$250 to \$180 per acre.¹⁰¹ During the summer of 1914 the most stringent restrictions were placed upon the budget of the school in order to prevent further deficits.

Aware of the financial trouble of the school, Jesse Knight attempted to help. In October 1914 he gave BYU an endowment of \$100,000 in irrigation stock.¹⁰² Though his endowment was a great morale booster, the question of reducing it to cash assets was another matter. Indeed, the liquidatable value

98. In March 1917 the Alumni Association reported that \$1,450 of the purchase price had been paid (BYU Faculty Minutes, 9 March 1917). See also BYU Faculty Minutes, 28 January 1914; and "The 1914 Annex," *White and Blue*, 4 February 1914.

99. Brimhall to Smoot, 15 May 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

100. "'Uncle Jesse' Knight's Gift," *Provo Herald*, 24 September 1914: "There has been talk of consolidating this school with the LDSU and concentrating both in Salt Lake City. . . . The theory is advanced that if both schools were operated under one head there would be a greater saving of money to the Church." The editorial noted that Jesse Knight's generosity to the school would probably enable it to remain in Provo. See also "A Great University," *Provo Herald*, 15 October 1914. There was no mention of the rumored move in Church Board of Education minutes, BYU Board minutes, or in Brimhall's papers.

101. "Resolution of the Board," 15 June 1914, UA 147, BYU Archives. See also E. H. Holt to Peter Beck, 12 June 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

102. "Uncle Jesse Knight Presents Our School with Endowment," *White and Blue*, 12 October 1914; "A Gift of Nearly \$250,000 for BYU," *Provo Herald*, 24 September 1914.

of the stock was only \$20,000 at most, and the stock was hard to sell.¹⁰³ Reed Smoot proposed that the Church give the northern section of the tabernacle block to Brigham Young University so that “with that and the resources now held by the BYU . . . they could pay their indebtedness.”¹⁰⁴ Smoot formally submitted his recommendations to the President of the Church in November along with a statement showing BYU’s debts to be \$89,000. The First Presidency appointed a special committee to evaluate the recommendation. This committee visited the school in January, but no relief followed. Consequently, Brigham Young University continued to struggle under the weight of its deficits, at once attempting to meet its obligations to the Provo Reservoir Company while applying pressure to the school’s own debtors.¹⁰⁵ In April 1915 Smoot recorded in his diary that the school owed \$104,000.¹⁰⁶ Further, the accounting officer of the Church Board of Education notified the school it had grossly overestimated the value of its few assets.

With the help of Jesse Knight, who bought back his own irrigation stock for \$20,000, the school finally negotiated a consolidation of debts by obtaining a low interest loan from the Church-owned Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. The sugar company paid off \$127,000 worth of debts and assumed the BYU account with interest at five percent per annum in hopes that the school could soon liquidate its real estate at a reasonable rate and pay off its indebtedness.¹⁰⁷ However, subsequent conditions in Provo forced the University to apply once

103. BYU Board Minutes, 11 July 1916; *see also* Arthur Winter to E. H. Holt, 4 August 1915, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

104. Diary of Reed Smoot, 23 October 1914, BYU Library.

105. Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees to the First Presidency, 5 February 1915, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

106. Diary of Reed Smoot, 14 April 1915.

107. This real estate consisted of the remaining benchlands which Jesse Knight had given to the University, the stock which the University owned in the Provo Reservoir Company, and the land described in twenty contracts “to Sundry persons for land and water sold on time payments as set forth in each separate contract” (BYU Board Executive Committee Minutes, 15 July 1918, UA 147, BYU Archives).

more for an extension of time from the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. The school also asked the Church to pay the interest on the loan.¹⁰⁸ By July 1918 indebtedness had grown to \$113,500.¹⁰⁹

Having little confidence that BYU would ever be able to pay its debts, the First Presidency of the Church made the following proposition to the school on 3 July 1918:

If you will convey to Joseph F. Smith, as Trustee-in-Trust for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, all of the real estate, water rights and contracts for the sale of the lands . . . the total value of which amounts to \$57,666.33, according to your own estimate, the Trustee-in-Trust will assume the obligation in full, crediting the University with \$57,666.33 as the value of the property and treating the remainder as a special appropriation to the school.¹¹⁰

The Brigham Young University Board of Trustees gladly accepted the offer. The school had struggled under its debts for many years. The Church was BYU's last resort, and President Joseph F. Smith chose to liquidate the debts of the school in exchange for its limited assets. For the first time in the school's history, the BYU Board of Trustees had completely lost its financial independence. But, through this loss Brigham Young University had achieved a closer alliance with the LDS Church than had ever before been possible.

Waving Old Glory

When the United States declared war against Germany in April 1917, Brigham Young University enthusiastically entered the national movement to mobilize forces. In Brimhall's words, the school was anxious to make "its Americanism and democracy vigorously manifest."¹¹¹ While young men were

108. Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees to Joseph F. Smith, 19 November 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

109. First Presidency to BYU Board of Trustees, 3 July 1918.

110. *Ibid.* See also BYU Board Minutes, 30 May 1919.

111. "BYU and Its Relation to the Great World War," BYU Archives, p. 1.

petitioning the administration to let school out early so that they could join the Army, President Brimhall was holding a number of patriotic assemblies, encouraging students to affirm their allegiance to the United States and to support the war effort. Robert Sauer, a German immigrant, declared to the students that "a man cannot serve two countries."¹¹² Amidst thunderous applause, Professor Sauer pledged his support for the American war effort. Excitement was universal. Brimhall authorized a special patriotic assembly featuring General Richard W. Young as the speaker for June commencement. President Brimhall even composed a special song for the occasion:

Old Glory wave on, o'er the land of the free
The home of the fair and the brave.
The land of oppression from mountain to sea
Finds only a place for a grave;
The hands of a nation grasp firmly thy staff,
In triumph they bear thee along,
We join in a chorus, like millions before us
Still pledging our banner in song.

In October 1917 sixty-five Utah County lads marched off with honor to the railroad station where they embarked for basic training in preparation for combat duty in France.¹¹³ At Brigham Young University, speaker after speaker blasted German oppression and inflamed the school with the fires of patriotism.¹¹⁴ The school collected over \$7,000 in Liberty

112. "Prof. Sauer Makes Statement," *White and Blue*, 4 April 1917.

113. "Royal Send-off for Liberty Boys," *White and Blue*, 10 October 1917.

114. Speakers included Dr. Powers, who discoursed on "America's Relation to Other World Powers" (*White and Blue*, 25 April 1917); Francis Neilson (*White and Blue*, 28 November 1917); Robert Sauer (*White and Blue*, 4 April 1917); and George Emory Fellows, who talked on war conditions and described the "German Scorn for Humanitarian Rights" 3 *White and Blue*, 14 November 1917). Brimhall himself discussed the war on various occasions (*White and Blue*, 9 October 1917, 17 April 1917; and *Provo Post*, 20 April 1917), as did Reed Smoot, who said, "I think I see the handwriting of God in the affairs of the world. I believe it is God's intention that we should fight for rights



BYU students and faculty members
at the Presidio Training
Camp in San Francisco
in August 1918.

Bond drives and another \$2,225 for the YMCA War Fund.¹¹⁵

Even before war was declared Brimhall wrote President Joseph F. Smith that "National patriotism is at a high ebb in the institution." He said, "There is a demand here in the school for military training, and unless we supply that demand, a number of our boys will undoubtedly leave school to get this training." Brimhall proposed a military course on the Brigham Young campus in conjunction with the physical education classes, "thus making the preparation for military service an appendage to our physical education department."¹¹⁶ President Smith approved the suggestion and authorized the University to establish a branch of the Student Army Training Corps on the campus "without expense to the school."¹¹⁷ A military training program for men and women was established in conjunction with regular classwork.¹¹⁸ Later, in the summer of 1918, application to become an official Army Training Corps center was sent off to Washington and almost immediately accepted. It was undoubtedly expedited by the influence of Reed Smoot.¹¹⁹

and liberty in order that the Gospel might spread unto all others" (*White and Blue*, 21 September 1917). N. L. Nelson wrote a particularly strong denunciation of Kaiserism entitled "Doctrine of the Devil" (*White and Blue*, 24 April 1918). A nurse from England gave a pathetic description of German atrocities (*White and Blue*, 17 June 1918). Brimhall wrote to Frank Warren Smith (benefactor of the school and one of the few American supporters of the Germans): "The only thing that we know about Kaiserism and the Kaiser is that both of them ought to be killed, and we are doing everything we can, from raising potatoes to building ships to crush out autocracy as represented by the Kaiser and Kaiserism. . . . As long as I am an American, I shall stand by the President of the United States, because he is more perfectly a representative of the American mind, being the choice of the citizens of the United States, than any other man" (Brimhall to Smith, 15 February 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers).

115. See "BYU over the Top in Liberty Bonds," *White and Blue*, 24 April 1918; "Help Win the War," *White and Blue*, 10 October 1917; and *White and Blue*, 21 November 1917.

116. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 2 April 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

117. First Presidency to BYU Presidency, 4 April 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

118. BYU Faculty Minutes, 13 November 1917.

119. Reed Smoot to George H. Brimhall, 15 August 1918, Brimhall Presi-

The first of October 1918 was agreed upon as the official date for opening the Army Training Corps center. In August 1918 the University sent three faculty members to the Presidio in San Francisco, California, to qualify as military instructors, and, at the same time, it began an intensive recruitment program among college and high school students as the Church school system's only official Student Army Training Corps.¹²⁰ The program promised to be a significant factor in the development of BYU's enrollment and curriculum. E. H. Holt wrote in August, two months before the program officially started, that "The establishment of the training corps has aroused more interest in the University than anything that has happened in years."¹²¹

Soldiers were paid the standard enlistment pay of \$30 per month while attending school, and, depending upon their ability, age, and the requirements of the service, they were allowed from one to three twelve-week terms on campus at government expense.¹²² In September Brimhall reported to Major Moore at Stanford University that "since being designated a unit of the SATC we have received over five-hundred sixty applications from young men to be admitted."¹²³ It appeared from early reports that the manpower shortage at the school was to be largely offset by the influx of recruits to join the Army program.¹²⁴

Classwork for the Army course was very broad. Candidates were divided into two groups, "A" and "B," depending upon

dential Papers. *See also* BYU Faculty Minutes, 19 August 1918.

120. BYU Faculty Minutes, 16 September 1918.

121. E. H. Holt to Alfred Osmond, 29 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

122. *See* George H. Brimhall to James F. Shirley, 31 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers; and a letter from the War Department Committee on Education and Special Training to United States Colleges, 28 August 1918, UA 110, BYU Archives.

123. Brimhall to Moore, 17 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

124. *See* George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 12 October 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers. The actual number of inductees was only 141 ("SATC Report of Officers," UA 110, BYU Archives, pp. 16-17). Ernest L. Wilkinson, future president of BYU, was one of the inductees. He had volunteered for service at an enlistment headquar-

their level of education. The "A" work was vocational, and the "B" work, for students of more education, was technical.¹²⁵ Due to inadequate facilities, the school had trouble getting the SATC vocational work started, but the technical training program fit well with regular college courses. The *White and Blue* listed twenty-five courses which would fill the requirements of the Army program.¹²⁶ The military training program, which included twenty hours of special tactical work per week, emphasized physical fitness and physical education in addition to regular Army coursework.¹²⁷

Since most of the SATC cadets participated in the vocational program, BYU college classes did not increase in enrollment the way Brimhall had anticipated. In order to insure continued interest in BYU's SATC program, the Board of Trustees appealed to the Church Board of Education to approve construction of a new Mechanic Arts Building. The local Board maintained that "unless we can announce at once that improvements along these lines will be made, but few of

ters in Ogden but had received no encouragement because of his size — only 114 pounds. He accordingly came to BYU where, after training without induction, he was finally admitted to the SATC.

125. George H. Brimhall wrote James F. Shirley about the SATC cadets: "If he has only a grammar school education he will be in section A. If he has 13 units of high school credit he may join section B. Those of section A will follow vocational courses in military work. Those in section B will follow technical courses" (Brimhall to Shirley, 31 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers). More cadets enrolled in the vocational program than in the technical course (George H. Brimhall to Major Moore, 17 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers).
126. These were English, French, German, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, geography, topography and map making, astronomy, hygiene, sanitation, descriptive geometry, mechanical and freehand drawing, surveying, economics, accounting, history, international law, government, and psychology ("Courses of Study: Regional Director Tells the Soldiers What to Do," *White and Blue*, 1 October 1918). Technical classes, courses in German, and a special course entitled "Issues of the War" to be taught by C. N. Jensen were especially important to the army (see "Prof. C. Jensen Will Lecture on Big War Issues," *White and Blue*, 1 October 1918; and Brimhall to Moore, 17 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers).
127. U. S. War Department to BYU Presidency, 26 September 1918, UA 110, BYU Archives.



Mechanic Arts Building,
dedicated in October 1918. The
president's home, constructed in
1909 by Henry Peterson, is at left.

the young men will choose to take their military training with us; but with these improvements we would be able to maintain our relative position." After a lengthy discussion of the matter, President Lund assured the committee present that the Church favored the military program. However, he cautioned the General Board to "find out just what kind of a new building will be needed for the purpose, what its approximate cost would be and whether the Government could not be prevailed upon to advance most, if not all, of the necessary means."¹²⁸ Brimhall apparently made application to the government through Reed Smoot for financial help, but the Church ultimately supplied the total cost of the new building, appropriating \$43,000 for its construction.¹²⁹

The Mechanic Arts Building was the first real academic facility added to the campus in years. It was, according to *White and Blue*, "a milestone" in the University's history.¹³⁰ Though it was a small building, hastily constructed, the Mechanic Arts Building was at least a sign that the Church Board favored BYU's decision to improve its vocational training program. School administrators noted that "This event in our school development is in keeping with the inspiration of the founder, President Brigham Young, who specifically stated in the deed of trust when the school was established that along with theology and the regular branches of study some branch of mechanism should be provided for the young men who enroll in the school."¹³¹

To the local Board of Trustees, the building represented another step toward an autonomous college campus on Temple Hill. It also raised the sights of the Alumni Association,

128. General Board Minutes, 28 August 1918.

129. First Presidency to George H. Brimhall, 16 September 1918; General Board Minutes, 16 October 1918. Completed in 1918, the new building was called the "Mechanic Arts Building." It retained that name until 1935, when, under the administration of Franklin S. Harris, two floors were added to the building and it was rededicated as the "Brimhall Building."

130. *White and Blue*, 16 October 1918.

131. Executive Committee, Presidency, and Faculty of BYU to Joseph F. Smith, 21 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

which in November 1918 maintained that “now is the time to make a special effort to provide buildings to accomodate the college students on this site — Temple Hill — and not require them to go back and forth to and from the high school plant.” The Alumni Association recommended construction of a science building for college laboratory work, an important step in the attainment of a complete university facility. Brimhall saw the new Mechanic Arts Building as the beginning of a series of developments in the Church school system that would see the rise of separate colleges at BYU. He wrote Carl Eyring, imploring him to return to Provo: “You have been trained for church school work, and the parent institution needs you. It cannot be without you what it can be with you, as I see it. While we may not expect for some time to have a school in professional engineering, we can give the very best pre-professional courses in mechanical, civil, and electrical engineering, and there is no doubt in my mind that in your day the school will have a number more.”¹³²

The influenza epidemic of 1918 forced Brigham Young University to close from October 15 to the first of January 1919, leaving the campus in relative isolation.¹³³ With the shutdown of the school, academic work was discontinued, but the military training kept on into November, when orders for demobilization were received after the Armistice with Germany was signed on 11 November 1918. The SATC camp was completely closed on December 23 after less than three months of operation.

Brigham Young University was affected by World War I, particularly in its relationship with the federal government. Brimhall had become aware of the availability of government

132. Brimhall to Eyring, November 1918.

133. See “SATC Officers Report,” p. 17; and “Spanish Influenza Epidemic: School Closed,” *White and Blue*, 16 October 1918. American doctors did not know how to counteract the influenza virus that caused the epidemic of 1918. More Americans died from the flu than on the battlefields of Europe. Hundreds died in Utah County, many families being wiped out. The flu also hit the two companies of SATC cadets at BYU, but none died.

funds, which, to some extent, encouraged his interest in vocational education.¹³⁴ Besides strengthening the school's ties with the federal government, the Student Army Training Corps had confirmed Brigham Young University's identity as a teachers college rather than a university.

Changes in School and Church Administration

One of the last and most significant changes in the Church Educational System during Brimhall's later administration was occasioned by the death of Joseph F. Smith at the Beehive House on 19 November 1918, just seven days after the Armistice with Germany. Joseph F. Smith had been President for seventeen years. He was a member of a generation of Church authorities which had become accustomed to the trials and vicissitudes of a Church enjoying neither the favor of the American public nor the security of a comfortable financial position. He had supported the growth of Church schools to the extent that the pinched financial circumstances of the Church would allow. While President Smith acted very deliberately on matters affecting Church schools, the new President of the Church, Heber "Jeddy" Grant, sixty-two, quickly instituted changes he considered necessary in the Church school system.

The war, of course, prompted a number of changes. Post-war inflation, for one thing, had skyrocketed the costs of

134. H. H. Cummings had interested Dr. Monroe of the Federal Bureau of Vocational Education in sponsoring BYU as a participant in the Government Rehabilitation Program (Cummings to Brimhall, 9 November 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers). Brimhall's reaction shows that the school, at that time, was amenable to using government funds: "Now if the government officials could make use of us (a private school) we are willing to be used. Our understanding has been that the Smith-Hughes act extended only into the field of state schools, and it will certainly be a very liberal view of the matter to have us made a recipient of this public money for the services we may render. If we could not share in the government appropriation through our state appropriation, we might be able to share in the government appropriation through setting apart some of our appropriation to cover our part of carrying on the work" (Brimhall to Cummings, 15 November 1918).

education. Some of the small Church academies were forced to close because of the virtual impossibility of competing with tax-supported schools. Furthermore, H. H. Cummings's Annual Report for 1917-18 mentioned the threat of increasing federal aid to state schools. He said, "Huge sums of money have already been asked for and liberal amounts have already been given. . . . It looks like our schools will not be able to compete successfully with such conditions without much greater appropriations are given them."¹³⁵ At the same time, the Church Board had decided to begin converting the stronger academies into normal schools to intensify the training of Mormon teachers for Utah high schools. Further, the Church's seminary program, which began in 1911, was becoming more and more influential in the communities dominated by strong state schools; and Cummings was spending much of his time doing seminary work.

In a meeting held 3 April 1919 the Quorum of the Twelve proposed sweeping changes in the administrative organization of the Church school system. Elder David O. McKay, member of the Quorum, was called to head an educational commission attached directly to the Quorum of the Twelve. He chose two other Apostles as assistant commissioners, Stephen L. Richards and Richard R. Lyman. During the first part of June 1919 David O. McKay met with Horace H. Cummings to notify him of his release from the position of superintendent of Church schools. Cummings described the interview in a diary entry dated June 5:

About 5:00 P.M. Elder David O. McKay entered my office and after some hesitation, told me I was honorably released as General Superintendent of the Church schools, and that the labors which I had been performing would hereafter be done by himself and Stephen L. Richards and Richard R. Lyman as Commissioners of Education and Adam S. Bennion as Superintendent. The work is too great for one man to do, and in making such sweeping changes it was thought wise to call a younger

135. General Board Minutes, 27 November 1918.



President William Howard Taft and
Reed Smoot (in back seat)
photographed during their
visit to Temple Hill in 1909.

man to the work. He said I had the love and confidence of the Presidency and Board, who appreciated my faithful labors.

I replied that he need feel no embarrassment in delivering his message as I had offered the Appropriation Committee my resignation last February, but instead of releasing me they raised my salary \$50 a month. I am now sixty-one years old and have not fully recovered from the severe attack of the influenza which I had last winter. I had done my best for over 13 years, but there is too much work for one to do properly. I was exceedingly glad that four men would henceforth be working for the Church schools.

Cummings's resignation and Adam S. Bennion's appointment were accompanied by other changes. In a July 20 meeting of the Board of Trustees, Jesse Knight tendered his resignation, "due to the condition of his health." Joseph R. Murdock was chosen to succeed Knight as vice-president of the Board. In the same meeting, George H. Brimhall announced that the Church school commission had requested that he devote a portion of his time to the supervision of the seminary program. They also "had suggested that a faculty executive committee be chosen to aid in conducting the school."¹³⁶ With the appointment of the faculty executive committee, consisting of Brimhall's counselors Joseph Keeler and Amos Merrill, Brimhall's active role as president of Brigham Young University came to an end, and a new era began.

136. BYU Board Minutes, 20 July 1919.

14

Learning on Temple Hill: 1902-1921

Pedagogy and Pragmatics

In 1904 the full faculty of Brigham Young University consisted of “49 regular salaried teachers and 9 on a nominal salary, pursuing college studies, and 5 special teachers paid by fees,”¹ but half of them were working in the Training School and other programs below the high school level. The actual academic teaching force for college students numbered about twenty-nine. Upon them fell the burden of establishing Brigham Young University as the leading educational institution in the Church school system. They were also required to administer the extensive theological program of the school.

About fifteen teachers in 1904 carried the title “professor,” a rather fickle designation that varied with circumstances. Other members of the faculty were dubbed “assistant professor” or “instructor” or were given an administrative title such as “director” or “librarian.” The titles were functional, describing assignment and status rather than scholastic attain-

1. “Report of the Presidency of the Brigham Young University,” 1904-5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

ment. Since members of the faculty were required to teach in divergent areas, some awkward titles resulted. J.B. Keeler, for instance, was called "Professor of Theology" on the Collegiate Department faculty list and "Professor of Accounts" on the Commercial School faculty list. Brimhall was "Professor of Pedagogy" and "Professor of Psychology" at various instances, while Caleb Tanner was both "Professor of Engineering Sciences" and "Instructor of Mathematics." J.E. Hickman and James L. Brown were the most versatile faculty members. Hickman was "Professor of Psychology," "Professor of Philosophy," and "Professor of Physics." Brown was both "Professor of Chemistry" and "Professor of Pedagogy." Christina D. Young, "Professor of Domestic Science"; Aretta Young, "Professor of Art"; and B.T. Higgs, "Professor of Engineering," were awarded professorial status because of technical skills.

When Cluff left the University in 1904 nine members of the faculty had the bachelor's degree: William F. Ward, BYU; Josiah Hickman, BYU; Ernest D. Partridge, BYU (and part of one year at Michigan); E.S. Hinckley, University of Michigan; John C. Swensen, Stanford; Charles Maw, Stanford; and Alfred Osmond, Harvard. After obtaining a bachelor's degree at BYU, Alice Louise Reynolds had spent two years and one summer at Michigan. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., had been the only member of the faculty with an advanced degree. Most of the others had the four-year normal degree from BYU (the B. Pd.) or the Church's official D.B. (bachelor of didactics) degree. In addition to those mentioned above, Cluff conscientiously sought educators with special degrees. He added Ida Dusenberry (Chauncey Hall School for Kindergarten Teachers), Lilian H. Cannon (Oswego Normal School), Ella Larson (Columbia Teachers College), as well as others who had shown particular strength in practical or musical areas. Earl Glade (Rochester Business Institute) and Frederick Warnick (Rochester Business Institute and Zanerian Business College) had special training in business, while A.C. Lund had studied at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music.

Faculty Influences

Cluff's use of the faculty members in lecture tours, student organizations, and school government, as well as fund raising and financial operations, was much in evidence during the years 1902 to 1904. With reorganization of the departments and coordination of student and faculty activities using faculty-student committees, organizational sophistication began under Cluff, and Brimhall helped to perpetuate it. After Cluff's administration BYU was never again the simple normal school it had once been.

One of the most remarkable professors on campus during the early Brimhall period was John A. Widtsoe. A brilliant chemistry student from Harvard, Widtsoe had early acquired some reputation in the state for his innovations and research in dry farming.² Brimhall wrote him in September 1904: "Many times I have said to myself and others, 'How I wish Brother Widtsoe could be in the Brigham Young Academy.'"³ John A. Widtsoe came to Brigham Young University in 1905 when he was released from his position at Utah State Agricultural College.⁴ Brimhall received a special appropriation from the Church Board of Education to cover his salary of \$2,200.

Widtsoe brought agricultural work at BYU to the fore. Brimhall reported that Widtsoe's department was "having a wonderful educational influence in favor of our Church systems."⁵ Widtsoe organized a farmers institute which traveled throughout the state, instructing farmers and re-

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2. He had managed five experimental agricultural stations in 1903, and his efforts proved highly successful. He also helped publish the *Dry-Farming Bulletin*, a farming magazine that was highly respected throughout the state.
 3. Brimhall to Widtsoe, 16 September 1904, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 4. See *Deseret News*, 28 January 1922; M.W. Merrill to Reed Smoot, 5 April 1905, Reed Smoot Papers.
 5. George H. Brimhall to J.M. Tanner, 8 December 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.



The BYU band on the west steps
of the Education (Academy)
Building. This photo was
taken around 1909.

cruiting students.⁶ Brimhall and John C. Swensen often accompanied the institutes in order to promote the University's liberal arts program. Widtsoe's amazing influence on enrollment confirmed the drawing power of strong faculty members. When he left Brigham Young University to return to Utah State Agricultural College and assume a position much more prestigious than the one from which he had been ousted, it was a great loss to BYU. He later became president of the Agricultural College and then president of the University of Utah.⁷

After Widtsoe left there was a disastrous decline in the number of agricultural students at BYU. Amos N. Merrill, head of BYU's Department of Agriculture, reported that the department was not very popular, as was "evidenced by the fact that on the first day of registration, not a single man came to me to be registered."⁸ There were, of course, other faculty members who were local celebrities. They could, on the weight of their reputation alone, inspire courses at the University. Anthon C. Lund's music classes, for instance, attracted serious music students from all over the state. At the same time, he involved a number of less talented students in choirs and bands. Since student performances and concerts were the chief social entertainment of the day, Lund's work was popular as much for its social benefits as its academic appeal.

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6. George H. Brimhall to C.H. Bastian, 23 October 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 7. During the entire time Widtsoe was at BYU Brimhall had to fight to keep him with the school. Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming irrigation interests wanted him to work for them. LDSU also tried to recruit him. Fearing that Widtsoe might leave BYU, Brimhall wrote J.M. Tanner, "His withdrawal would foster the sentiment that the Church School service cannot hold high grade men, and that the money pull of the outside is stronger than the interest pull for the welfare of Zion's youth" (8 December 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers).
 8. Amos N. Merrill, "In Remembrance of Joseph B. Keeler." J.B. Keeler Biographical File, BYU Archives, p. 3. *See also* "History of the College of Animal Science," BYU Archives, p. 32; and a letter from George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 16 December 1909, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

Several faculty members published articles and pamphlets for use in LDS Church organizations. Widtsoe, whom Brimhall termed “a mighty man in theology,”⁹ wrote a concordance to the Doctrine and Covenants. He also published an MIA manual. J.B. Keeler, president of Utah Stake, wrote a number of small articles and treatises on Church government and theology. He also wrote a manual for his business classes.¹⁰

Professor Nels L. Nelson, a long-time teacher at the University who worked on his advanced degree at Clark University in Massachusetts, wrote *The Scientific Aspects of Mormonism*, one of the most interesting works on science to come out of the Mormon educational community. After having some difficulty getting the book published, Professor Nelson received financial support from some Church authorities in Salt Lake City to get it printed, and his book was finally published by Putnam Brothers in New York.¹¹

A number of popular faculty lecturers did much to spread the influence of the University. Brimhall mentioned J.E. Hickman, Alfred Osmond, E.S. Hinckley, John C. Swensen, and William J. Snow as the most popular lecturers. “The last named gentleman,” he said, “gives one of the most impressive, logical and classical lectures on Spiritual education that I have had the good pleasure of hearing.”¹²

Administrative Role of Faculty

The consolidation of departments into separate schools tended to relieve some of the administrative pressure on the school’s presidency. Between 1900 and 1902 the faculty

9. George H. Brimhall to J.M. Tanner, 8 December 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

10. See Journal of Anthon H. Lund, 3 June 1904; and J.B. Keeler to the First Presidency of the Church, 29 May 1903, for brief comments on Keeler’s priesthood manual.

11. N.L. Nelson to Joseph F. Smith, 9 May 1904, Joseph F. Smith Papers. See also *White and Blue*, 6 May 1904.

12. George H. Brimhall to A.E. Huish and Lillie Fairbanks, 18 November 1904, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

staffed over thirty administrative committees, most of which had little to do with direct academic classwork. Faculty members held positions as theological monitor, domestic organization monitor, Polysophical Society adviser, head of the Literary Society, monitor of the Pedagogium, library monitor, and hall disciplinarians. Faculty members also served on party committees, general clean-up committees, fair committees, a committee for labeling the seats in College Hall, the excursions and transportation committee, the writing and newspaper advertising committee, the Founders Day committee, a committee to compose debate issues, memorial services committees, a committee on gymnasium uniforms, and many others.¹³

James L. Brown, superintendent of Utah County schools, was extensively involved in BYU's administrative matters. He worked with the library committee, securing contributions of money and books and making a drive for new library quarters. John C. Swensen, one of the better trained faculty members during the 1900 to 1902 period, served on the athletics committee, some party committees, the library committee, a committee on the school circular, and several other committees. He also worked with students in the domestic wards along with Alice Louise Reynolds. In addition, Swensen taught extension courses and summer school and carried a regular teaching load that averaged not less than twenty class hours per week.¹⁴ Other teachers also served on administrative committees. Joseph B. Keeler became responsible for financial matters, while Edwin S. Hinckley frequently worked with the faculty.

Separate Schools or Divisions

In 1904 the University was divided into a number of separate schools, each directed by an approved principal:

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13. BYA Faculty Minutes for the years 1899 through 1902 contain many discussions of school committees.
 14. "Autobiography of John Canute Swensen," typescript copy in BYU Archives, p. 24.



B. T. Higgs (at right center with mustache) and members of a Brigham Young Academy woodwork class.

Kindergarten Department (Ida Smoot Dusenberry)
 Preparatory Department (Walter Cluff)
 Missionary Department (Orin W. Jarvis)
 High School (Nels L. Nelson)
 Normal School (James L. Brown)
 Commercial School (J.B. Keeler)
 Music School (A.C. Lund)
 Collegiate Department (John C. Swensen)

High school and lower division enrollment dominated BYU during the early Brimhall years. For instance, high school tuition netted the school \$7000 of its total tuition income of \$8697 for September 1904. The teaching effort was broader and deeper in the high school than in other divisions. High school and college classes were included in the coursework of many of the school's divisions, and there was some duplication of teaching efforts from department to department. High school students that could qualify often enrolled in college courses, and some college students took special shorthand and typing classes offered by the Commercial School.

The kindergarten course took most of its program from the Normal School and a little from the Collegiate Department, appealing to girls of various qualifications who were over sixteen. Ida Smoot Dusenberry, a gifted teacher, added a few classes of her own to make the kindergarten course complete. A few manual training classes, such as Aretta Young's drawing classes and B.T. Higgs's woodworking courses, fit into both high school and college curricula. In addition to Ella Larson, the Training School employed four other full-time teachers. Orin Jarvis replaced N.L. Nelson as supervisor of the missionary classes. The catalog for 1904 showed that the missionary programs — particularly strong from 1904 to 1906 — were staffed by several special instructors who taught theology classes.

Cluff's school report of 1903 gave an overview of the college program. He listed the total number of hours of instruction the Collegiate Department was offering in various academic areas as follows:



Brigham Young University college
graduates in 1904, including
John E. Booth, at far right, who
had taught at the school since
the Maeser era.

Courtesy Rell Francis
(photo by George E. Anderson).

Theology, 39 hours per week; English, 39 hours per week; History, 7 hours per week; Mathematics, 36 hours per week; Natural Science, 25 hours per week; Pedagogy, 23 hours per week; Spanish, 15 hours per week; Physical Science, 15 hours per week; Music, 25 hours per week; Gymnasium, 8 hours per week; Domestic Art, 53 hours per week; Drawing and Drafting, 22 hours per week; Woodwork, 28 hours per week.¹⁵

Because of limited enrollment and a shortage of trained faculty members, the actual college program fell short of Cluff's projection. In 1903 the Collegiate Department handled a total of only seventy-four students. Eighteen classes were taught in the various areas, yielding an arithmetical average of little more than four students per class. Both Cluff and Brimhall promoted diversification of the high school program. In contrast, with the exceptions of music and woodworking programs, the Collegiate Department offered few specialized courses. Rapid expansion of lower division work produced more extensive academic structures in the lower divisions than in the Collegiate Department. For instance, Ida Dusenberry, Ella Larson, and James L. Brown conducted separate teacher training programs in their individual departments, while the Collegiate Department had to be content with a system of the most basic university classes.

Impressions of Other Schools

During the years from 1903 to 1908 about a hundred students registered in Brigham Young University's college program. Only twenty-two graduated. Most college students enrolled long enough to receive specialized training and then left before fulfilling general education requirements. Graduates received the bachelor of science or bachelor of pedagogy degrees until November 1906 when the bachelor of pedagogy degree was replaced by the bachelor of arts degree.¹⁶ Almost half of the college graduates were more than

15. President's Report, 1902-3, p. 15.

16. *White and Blue*, 29 November 1906.



Brigham Young University
drafting class. Harvey Fletcher
is at front with his
back to the camera.

twenty-four years old. Most had attended the University for at least five years. A few, like Ida Dusenberry, were at the school even longer. John E. Booth, who graduated in 1904, had been teaching mathematics when Karl Maeser was principal.

Early University graduates often accepted positions as assistants or instructors while attending college, and, after their graduation, many were appointed to the faculty. Few during this period went directly on to graduate school. Of the five men who graduated in 1904, four joined the BYU faculty. The entire class of 1906 — Chester Van Buren, Elbert Eastmond, Ida Dusenberry, and Fannie McLean — stayed on the faculty. Brimhall was not as vigorous in recruiting outside teachers as Cluff had been, nor did he so forcefully encourage appointed faculty to go to other schools for more education. Thus, relatively inexperienced young faculty such as Chester Van Buren, Harvey Fletcher, Clarence Jarvis, Elbert Eastmond, Sarah Preston, and George C. Laney taught under the leadership of more experienced professors. Fletcher and Eastmond were required to serve in the front ranks, teaching advanced classes which included many students that were their peers. This, as Fletcher pointed out, was occasionally very difficult:

I was teaching a class in physics in the spring of 1906. I was rather young — 21 years old — and many of the students were as old, some much older than I. They frequently challenged statements that I would make and I found it difficult to gain their confidence. One day I received a call to come into President Brimhall's office for a conference. Four of the older students in my class were there as a committee complaining that I was teaching false laws of physics. They repeated a statement that I had made that day in class about action and reaction. I said that when a pair of horses were pulling a wagon down the street, the wagon pulled back with just the same force that the horses pulled forward. They said any simpleton could see that the wagon would not move under those circumstances. I argued with President Brimhall and with the students and even with a chemistry professor who was there, but to no avail. I had to leave with

Brimhall saying, "Now, Brother Fletcher, you are young and when you have a little more experience you will the see the fallacy of this statement."¹⁷

Brimhall maintained close contact with Mormon students in graduate schools who were taking advantage of "the opportunity of brightening themselves up and getting the most recent results of educational work in the world."¹⁸ Their reports and evaluations gave President Brimhall insight into secular universities and the overall value of advanced degrees. In the period from 1905 to 1910 the Church was basically favorable to its students going away to study, though it was uncertain as to the real effects of gentile education upon Mormon scholars.¹⁹ Brimhall thought highly of institutions like Stanford which stressed religious as well as intellectual training.

Francis Kirkham wrote him from Stanford that "This is the finest body of undergraduates I have yet met."²⁰ Eugene L. Roberts wrote that "Yale is distinctly and profoundly religious; and while it is a fact that more intimate acquaintance with its students reveals that many of the prayers chanted in the chapel every day are prayers of the lips, it still remains true

17. Harvey Fletcher, "History of Harvey Fletcher," unpublished manuscript in BYU Archives, pp. 26-27.

18. General Church Board of Education Papers, 25 March 1903.

19. Brimhall himself reflected the ambivalent attitude most Church authorities had toward outside education. Though enthusiastic about the achievements of the brighter students and interested in the numerous scientific discoveries of the day, he occasionally censured students who had accepted gentile tenets. A.L. Neff, a student at Stanford, wrote Brimhall that he was interested in LDS history: "I hope to carry on investigations along the lines indicated, and therefore I wish to get in one of the Church universities. I don't pretend to be very religious, but I have a passion for the truth in this field of American history" (Neff to Brimhall, 1 April 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers). Brimhall tersely replied, "I am of the impression that while you have sympathy with Mormons, you are out of sympathy with Mormonism. I think you look upon Mormon doctrine as back-number philosophy and the followers of it as at least quasi-deceived" (Brimhall to Neff, 4 April 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers).

20. Francis W. Kirkham to George H. Brimhall, 17 November 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

that the Yale spirit is one of reverence and devotion.”²¹ Earl Glade praised the University of Chicago:

Chicago is truly a wonderful school. In a way it strikes me as being somewhat “heterogeneous” in nature, if that word can be made to convey my idea. The various schools exist absolutely separate from one another. The seniors alone are invited to a brief chapel exercise about twice a week. As a result one doesn’t know anything about the student body. I believe I have learned to appreciate our daily morning assembly.

The Chinese, Japanese, Negroes, and Jews are here in great numbers. I was about to classify the Mormons in the same group; there are lots of people from Utah here.²²

Though Brimhall received many such glowing reports from students at other universities, some who went away found things distressingly worldly. A student at Columbia wrote, “As you know this is a huge university, but its standards are lower than the B.Y. I was chagrined to find all my profs. except one were heavy smokers; even the janitors puff smoke in your face.”²³ William Boyle wrote from Los Angeles, “As you know, there is a different social atmosphere, ideals are not as high, or motives, as fun. I feel — in the air — an indifference to any thing but Passion satisfying and greed for gain. Everyone smokes and chews and drinks with as much grace as I eat my five cent oranges. Lots of style and little christianity.”²⁴ Annie Pike Greenwood, a non-Mormon student and author of the lyrics to the “College Song,” wrote that one of her colleagues, wishing to be facetious, had said to her, “‘I think they must have spoiled you at that Brigham Young Academy.’” Reflecting on the comments, Annie said,

It struck me forcibly that he was right. “They” had certainly spoiled me at “that Brigham Young Academy” —

21. *White and Blue*, 18 March 1910.

22. Earl J. Glade to E.H. Holt, 1 July 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

23. J.E. Hickman to George H. Brimhall, 6 December 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

24. William Boyle to George H. Brimhall, 3 February 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

spoiled me as mother spoils her child — with kindness, encouragements, appreciation, charity — spoiled me so that I can never be content to take anything but the best the world has to give nor satisfied to give anything but the best that lies within me. By day and by night it comes upon me that I must fulfill all of which my teachers believed me capable.

I thank God that hundreds of young people are being spoiled every year in the Brigham Young University — spoiled for the uses of malice, sloth, evil, and irreverence. They shall not go forth into the world with sneers and murky skepticism.²⁵

During his early years as president of BYU, George Brimhall was cautiously optimistic about the value of secular education. His opinion was influenced by students and fellow teachers. Their reports of progress and exciting discoveries in graduate school prompted him to push the college work ahead. Their optimism prompted him to work toward a collegiate program that eventually gained recognition for Brigham Young University as the official Church college and focus of the Church Educational System.

Student Activities

Upper division college students, many of whom were married, were often so engrossed in their studies and teaching duties that they avoided taking the lead in student matters. The leadership of student activities was therefore usually left to younger students, who pressed for more social involvement. In Maeser's time the Polysophical Society and Pedagogium served as lecture bureaus and social clubs, but in the Cluff and Brimhall years the students requested more. The Literary Society, the Masterbuilders (woodworking students), the College Club, and the Engineering Society were all organized around the turn of the century. In 1903 the women students held their first school-wide party; the first step toward an associated women students organization.

25. Annie Pike Greenwood, *White and Blue*, 27 April 1909.

FOUNDER'S DAY ISSUE

THE WHITE AND BLUE



College Song.

1 All hail the College that we love,
At the throne, the throne of wisdom's sway,
Oh, let us lift our songs above
The thronging multitude to-day,
No pride of riches here may sue:
The head, the heart, the hand,
United must be true,—
Be true to thee, our White and Blue,
When they join our happy band.

CHORUS—Then cheer anew for the B.Y.U.
We've come to work, to live, to do;
We'll raise the Standard—bear it through;
Our hearts are true to the B. Y. U.

2 There is no emblem half so sweet
As our colors, colors pure and true.
There is no banner that we greet,
Like thee, our dear old White and Blue.
No youth its beauty ere denies;
Such thought no maid allows,
For Blue is in her eyes,
For Blue is in her bonnie eyes,
And of White her thoughtful brow.



BRIGHAM YOUNG
UNIVERSITY. 
PROVO, UTAH.

OCTOBER 16, 1907

PUBLISHED BY THE STUDENT BODY. 

A lecture bureau was established under the directorship of John C. Swensen.²⁶ He obtained the services of several popular speakers, including Richard G. Moulton, Thomas McClory, and Thomas E. Green. Students crowded College Hall to hear John B. DeMott's sermons on character and to listen to Thomas Green and Professor Guthrie, who spoke on "The Social Worth of the Rogue." Occasionally, entertainers such as Maro the Magician, the Dunbar Quartette, and the Montarile Flowers appeared before the assembly. The entire student body turned out for these performances.

The first student newspaper, *White and Blue*, emerged in 1899. Its predecessors, *The Journal of Pedagogy*, *The Normal*, and *The Business Journal*, had been, in the main, scholastic journals, though they had included some student news items. By 1904 *White and Blue* carried regular articles by class reporters and feature articles covering topics like science, music, arts, and industry. Though loyal to the school's administration, the editors of *White and Blue* did not hesitate to use the newspaper help establish student policies, and the editorial staff of the newspaper came to be a *de facto* student government.

Everyone liked to hear a good speech. Most student parties featured banquets and a declamation or impromptu speech contest. Pantomime, storytelling, and reading were also popular, but sermons attracted the most attention. J.E. Hickman's speech on Ingersoll was quoted by every student who considered himself a defender of faith:

Columbus believed the earth round; Stevenson believed vehicles could be drawn by means of steam; Morse believed that thought could be flashed over wire by the aid of electricity; Marconi believed thoughts could be broadcast without a tangible medium; Joseph Smith believed that God could and would reveal himself. A faith in all these unproved realities, accompanied with action, became house-hold truths of a startled world. Faith is the harmonious struggle of all the powers of the mind to-

26. "Autobiography of John Canute Swensen," p. 37.

wards knowing some unproved truth. . . . Without it, man becomes dead to the future and turns idolator to the present.²⁷

Brimhall's speeches were particularly popular among students. Intense and dramatic, Brimhall could evoke tender pathos or horrific guilt. J. Edward Johnson recalled the circumstances of one of Brimhall's speeches, which proved to be a "scorcher." There had been

some thieving going on, possibly the normal amount where a large group is involved, but when it advanced from petty pilfering of pens, pads and textbooks, etc., to watches, and the bereft reported it to President Brimhall, it became the occasion for a scorcher. On the day now referred to a fine watch had been stolen from a gym locker. President Brimhall made it the occasion for one of his best efforts. None who heard him would ever forget how small, little, unbelievably diminutive he made that thief. If he should have even so much of a trace of conscience and character every tick of that watch would say to him, "thief," "Thief, thief; thief, thief; thief, thief."

The report of the incident and President Brimhall's remarks grew, and presently it was to the effect that when President Brimhall came to his office the next morning there were several fine watches on his desk.²⁸

Brimhall's aphorisms, like Maeser's, were collected and reported by the student newspaper, which pronounced that "devotional exercises without President Brimhall are as bread and honey without the honey."²⁹

Mindful of developments in neighboring schools and anxious to prove their mettle in competition, BYU students pushed for debating matches. Rivalling classes met in well attended contests to display their forensic powers. The most articulate students were selected by the student body to be

27. *White and Blue*, 27 May 1903.

28. J. Edward Johnson, "Some BYU Recollections in the Lighter Vein," BYU Archives.

29. *White and Blue*, 16 October 1907.



"Fools' Frolic," labeled
by the 1920 *Banyan* as the
"biggest High School
event of the year."

pitted against the best from Brigham Young College, LDS University, and, occasionally, the University of Utah in debates on international affairs, Prohibition, and standards of behavior.³⁰ The Agorian Society and the Rialto were organized to encourage debating. Both clubs were influenced by N. L. Nelson who had published a book on public speaking.

Considering its size, BYU developed an extensive music program. Lavishly decorated student dances featured the music of the school band. Professor Lund's music enlivened class yells at athletic contests and solemnized ecclesiastical meetings. His associates, Clair Reid, Charles Johnson, Clarence Hawkins, Maebel Borg, and Robert Sauer, sang arias, directed bands, and played instrumental solos. The BYU Quartette, the three Tout sisters, and the Newell girls were popular student performers. J. Edward Johnson, a student at the time, recollected that "we took it all for granted that this fine music in all its manifestations was an essential part of our school day diet."³¹

Fraternities were avoided on the grounds that a "University overrun with frats, societies, etc., cannot have that unpretentious, wholesome social intercourse which characterizes our school life."³² There was no student body organization. However, class organizations were tight-knit, and students patriotically declared loyalty to their classes. Individual classes prided themselves on the extravagance of their dances, the achievement of their athletes, and the significance of their gifts to the University. Each class elected its own officers, including a yellmaster and a standard-bearer who carried the class banner upon which the class motto was inscribed. Banners bearing the inscriptions "Character Is Power," "Work, Watch, and Wait," and "Knowledge Is Power" were carried like battle standards into interclass contests.

In 1906 the class of 1907 whitewashed their graduating year on the mountain east of campus. When the rest of the

30. Ibid.

31. J. Edward Johnson, "Some BYU Recollections in the Lighter Vein."

32. *Banyan* (BYU student yearbook), 1911, p. 190.



Beginning the BYU tradition of whitewashing the Y. This photo was probably taken in 1907, the year after the block Y was placed on the mountain.



Boys of the high
school class of 1908,
presumably on Y Day.

students saw '07's presumption, a massive invasion against the offenders began. The '07's held out as long as they could, but they were finally driven from their positions, and their lime powder monument was obliterated. Individual class members were hunted down, and their heads were shaved. To prevent further clashes, Brimhall consented to send Ernest Partridge and three of his students, Elmer Jacobs, Clarence Jacobs, and Harvey Fletcher, to survey the letters "B," "Y," and "U" on the mountain. After the letters were laid out on the mountain, the whole student body joined together to whitewash them. Harvey Fletcher recalled that

The students stood in a zig zag line about 8 feet apart stretching from the bottom of the hill to the site of the Y. The first man took the bag of lime, sand or rocks and carried it 8 feet and handed it to the second man. The second carried it another 8 feet and handed it to the third man and thus the bag went up the hill, each man shuttling back and forth along his 8 foot portion of the trail. All the students started with enthusiasm as they expected to be through by 10 o'clock A.M. But it was a much bigger job than anyone expected. It was 4 P.M. before the Y was covered and then by only a thin layer. So no attempt was made to cover the other two letters. It was very hard work and most of the boys had had no breakfast and no dinner. No one dared to quit as it would break up the line. In the afternoon it was more than some of them could take and they fainted and had to be helped down the hill. I am sure those who worked in that line that day will never forget it. They were somewhat rewarded when they got back to the campus and looked at the beautiful white Y on the mountainside in just the right proportions. It looked like it was standing in the air just above the ground.³³

The letter, composed of a thin coat of lime powder, needed constant repair. Students showed their patriotism to their

33. Harvey Fletcher, "History of Harvey Fletcher," pp. 15-16. For another version of the first Y Day, see a letter from George C. Laney to W.H. Snell, 10 March 1959, BYU Archives.

class and to the school by climbing the mountain each year to give the Y a fresh coat of lime. Sluggards and malingerers who refused to help with the job were rewarded with haircuts and Y's painted on their foreheads. Thus, Brigham Young University established a new tradition, bred as much from rustic rowdyism as from a self-conscious desire to imitate neighboring schools.

In the main, BYU and its students were well received by the Provo community. The editor of *White and Blue* occasionally called for greater civic cooperation by reminding Provo residents of the revenue the school brought to the area, but students and local citizens were generally satisfied with the school's relationship to the community. The students, though overexuberant at times, behaved reasonably well, and the community's peaceful nature was conducive to the school's moral work.

In 1905 *White and Blue* complimented Brimhall for his support of athletics at BYU.³⁴ However, Brimhall was merely following the policies of Cluff, to whom credit belongs for the school's first athletic programs. Maud May Babcock had introduced physical culture courses in 1892. She led both men and women in "delsartian movements," a series of gymnastic exercises to the accompaniment of music. The girls' exercise bloomers were the talk of the school. When the Training School Building gymnasium was completed during Brimhall's acting presidency, gymnastic exercises and dancing enjoyed avid student support. Since football was banned in 1900 by the Church Board of Education, the school focused its energies on basketball, baseball, and track. Clayton Teetze of the University of Michigan joined the faculty as a physical education instructor in 1905. BYU's participation in intercollegiate athletics increased over the years as the student body became more interested in sports events. In general, the school fielded winning teams. Rivals visiting Provo were invariably met at the train station, accompanied to their quarters by the brass band, and feasted lavishly after the contest, win or lose.

34. *White and Blue*, 17 March 1905.

Curriculum

Brimhall attempted to maintain Cluff's policy of curriculum expansion, but he emphasized some new directions. The early Brimhall years were characterized by developments in vocational and agricultural work which enjoyed the favor of the Church Board of Education. John A. Widtsoe's agricultural program was serious university work and could have established BYU as an agricultural school if Widtsoe had remained at the University. Albert Eastmond did much to encourage the arts and industries program which acquired improved facilities under Brimhall. With the new Training School Building, the normal program was also strengthened, while other programs struggled to hold their own.

In 1904 Edwin S. Hinckley was the central figure in the life sciences at BYU. Trained in geology at the University of Michigan, his courses usually stressed that discipline, though he initially taught chemistry as well.³⁵ Hinckley also taught basic botany, zoology, and biology. He was assisted in some of his courses by Chester Van Buren, a member of the Cluff Expedition who had done extensive ornithological study.³⁶ When the school began agricultural work, Hinckley taught several classes, including practical entomology and animal husbandry.

At the same time, Josiah Hickman and Susa Young Gates taught classes in special physiology which treated basic anatomy, hygiene, and sex education. John T. Miller, who later obtained his M.D. degree, was also very influential in starting courses and lectures dealing with sex education. In addition to her special physiology classes, Mrs. Gates taught courses in nutrition. The natural sciences equipment consisted of a laboratory built by Ira N. Hinckley. In addition to

35. Vasco M. Tanner, "Edwin Smith Hinckley as a Scientist," *Edwin Smith Hinckley Centennial Tributes* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1968), pp. 8-9.

36. Van Buren's skill as a naturalist was indisputable. See Chester Van Buren, "Hunting Micos in Colombia," *White and Blue*, 5 March 1908; and Vasco Tanner, "C.G. Van Buren, Noted Scientist, Dies," *Y News*, 8 January 1929.



A home economics class
at Brigham Young University
during the Brimhall years.

basic demonstrations, the laboratory also accommodated some dissecting work.

For some time professors James L. Brown and Josiah Hickman were the official professors of the Physical Sciences Department. Brown, who had graduated from the University of Utah in 1897, directed courses in qualitative and quantitative analysis and assaying.³⁷ His specialty, however, was education, and he left BYU for some time to become superintendent of Utah County schools.³⁸ When Brown left, the chemistry classes were conducted by Arthur E. Dalley, a temporary replacement.³⁹ In 1903 Charles Maw became professor of chemistry at BYU. Maw was a graduate in chemistry from Stanford University.⁴⁰

Josiah Hickman, who was trained in social sciences and psychology, taught a number of classes in electricity and a few basic physics courses.⁴¹ These courses centered around some of the bright scientific students, such as Harvey Fletcher and Nathaniel Baldwin, who did much of their own work.⁴² Bald-

37. For Brown's life story, see Syntha Brown Roberts, comp., *The Family History of James Lehi Brown* (Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1967).

38. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

39. Hugh W. Peterson, "A Brief History of the Chemistry Department of Brigham Young University," BYU Archives, pp. 7-8.

40. When Cluff approached Maw about coming to BYU in 1903, Maw wrote from Stanford that he had "thought of accepting an assistant position here and at the same time taking out my M.A. degree, but I would prefer to return to Utah and spend my energy among the young people of Zion" (Charles E. Maw to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 10 March 1903, Cluff Presidential Papers).

41. Hickman graduated from Brigham Young Academy in 1901, having studied some physical science.

42. Fletcher's "History of Harvey Fletcher" relates both his early experiences in Provo and his accomplishments as a physicist of national reputation. His early physics notebooks, compiled for Nathaniel Baldwin during the years 1901 through 1903, are preserved in BYU Archives. Fletcher obtained his Ph.D. degree *summa cum laude* from the University of Chicago in 1911. Active in professional organizations and a very productive writer and researcher, he soon had an international reputation in the field of acoustics. He left BYU in 1916 to work for Bell Research Laboratories. In 1950 he became a professor of electrical engineering at Columbia University. He rejoined the BYU faculty in 1952. See the BYU Physics Department history for a more detailed discussion of Fletcher's accomplishments.

win assumed control of the department in 1904.⁴³ Clarence Jarvis, another bright science student, became an instructor of mathematics during the 1902-3 school year. He left BYU in 1904 to study civil engineering at the University of Missouri.

When Baldwin took over the Physical Sciences Department, Hickman moved into psychology. W.F. Ward, a mathematician of some ability, headed the mathematics work, while Ernest D. Partridge taught several drafting and engineering classes. Caleb Tanner, who later became prominent in irrigation and engineering as Utah State Engineer, and B.T. Higgs, the school custodian, taught engineering classes.⁴⁴ Caleb Tanner also taught surveying, and he conducted drafting and mechanics classes in conjunction with the physics and math classes taught by Partridge. B.T. Higgs taught courses in the "Theory of Building from Drawings" and "Cabinet Building."

Elbert H. Eastmond supervised the work in the newly established Department of Arts and Trades, receiving much support from the Church Board of Education from 1904 to 1906.

43. Nathaniel Baldwin was considered to be one of the brightest of the BYU science students. On 18 June 1900 Brimhall wrote Cluff, "Our man, Baldwin, in the teaching of Physics, surprised the teachers of the county who took his classes. He is certainly a genius" (Cluff Presidential Papers). Harvey Fletcher said of Baldwin, "He was a good teacher, high school teacher, but he didn't know much college mathematics or college physics. He was essentially an experimentalist, something like Edison. He would just try things. Well, for example, instead of going to buy a pen, he would make it" (Harvey Fletcher, interviewed by Hollis Scott, 19 September 1968, BYU Archives, p. 13).

44. Ward graduated from Brigham Young Academy in 1899, having studied under Joseph L. Horne. Partridge graduated from the Academy in 1901 with a B.S. degree and a teachers certificate. He also spent some time at Ann Arbor. He represented the Department of Physical Sciences to school administrators, suggesting class alterations and other changes. The Engineering Department was closely allied with the mathematics work of the school. For example, a class in "Roof and Truss Building" was called a mathematics class in the 7 September 1903 Faculty Meeting Minutes. Caleb Tanner was a valuable member of the faculty. When Tanner was recommended to attend an irrigation conference in 1902, Benjamin Cluff wrote President Joseph F. Smith, "Brother Tanner is one of our leading teachers in the BYA, and his absence will materially affect the work in his classes" (Cluff to Smith, 3 October 1902, Joseph F. Smith Papers, box 48, Church Historical Department).

Eastmond's abilities were widely acclaimed, and this area of the school's curriculum grew rapidly in conjunction with the agricultural work. Hans Andersen, a Danish blacksmith, taught the first blacksmith courses in the newly constructed shop across the street south of the Academy Building. He fashioned the tools used in his classes from horseshoes.⁴⁵

The course in English centered around a few basic literature and writing classes, including speech and elocution. Nels L. Nelson, a veteran teacher, taught most of the writing, elocution, and speech classes, although he was most interested in philosophy.⁴⁶ Basic literature courses were taught by Alice Louise Reynolds, who had attended the University of Michigan for two years and one summer after graduating from Brigham Young Academy in 1893.⁴⁷ There she studied Old English, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, qualifying herself to teach collegiate classes in basic literature, literary interpretation, and composition. Miss Reynolds did much to encourage literature and reading, often donating books from her personal library to build up the school's collection.

Alfred Osmond was the third principal professor in the English Department. His letter of application, written in February 1903, outlined his qualifications:

This is my fourth year's attendance at Harvard. I expect to graduate, cum laude, next June. While I have taken considerable work in History, German and Philosophy, the greater part of my time has been spent in the English Department. The following is an incomplete list of the special courses that I have taken in English: Anglo-Saxon, Chaucer, Spenser, Bacon, Milton and

45. For more on this department during the Brimhall years, see "Historical Report of the College of Industrial and Technical Education," BYU Archives.

46. Nelson joined the faculty in 1896 after receiving the bachelor of pedagogy degree (*White and Blue*, 1 April 1904). He had little formal education beyond the B. Pd. degree, but he had a keen intellect.

47. For biographical information on Alice Louise Reynolds, see her autobiography in BYU Archives and Amy Brown Lyman's book *A Lighter of Lamps*. The "Alice Louise Reynolds Club," which still continues at the University, was named after this fine teacher.

Shakespeare. . . . I have taken six full courses in Philosophy. In three of them I received "honorable mention," and in the other three, "high honors."⁴⁸

The coursework in English reflected Osmond's influence right from the time he joined the faculty.⁴⁹ One of the most prolific writers at BYU during his later years at the school, Osmond was also a poet, having published a volume of poetry as early as 1891.

When Walter Wolfe left the University during the 1903-4 school year, the Language Department lost a man who had a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and the classics. After Maeser's retirement, language study was not one of the school's stronger academic areas. When Wolfe left, language instruction was limited to the efforts of O.W. Andelin, who taught French and German.⁵⁰ The return of the Cluff Expedition had temporarily sparked interest in Spanish, but it soon cooled.⁵¹

During the early part of President Brimhall's administration, the high school commercial curriculum was administered by the Commercial School. The commercial course was changed from a three-year to a four-year program at the turn of the century. Those completing the four-year program were granted the master of accountants (M. Acc.) degree. The 1902-3 school catalog said that "technical and theoretical training" in the Commercial School would "fit young people . . . for bookkeepers, amanuenses, telegraphers, and

48. Alfred Osmond to Benjamin Cluff, 14 February 1903, Cluff Presidential Papers.

49. Karl Young, "History of the Department of English," BYU Archives, p. 4.

50. A conscientious student, Andelin received the B. Pd. degree from BYA in 1893. He went on a mission to Germany in 1895 and held a number of positions at the school after his return. He was assistant chorister of the Domestic Organization, librarian, and eighth grade teacher in the Training School where he pioneered foreign language work among lower level students.

51. Brimhall saw little need for Spanish instruction. Elmer Hook taught some Spanish classes just after the turn of the century, but his death in Mexico while serving a mission ended Spanish instruction at the school for some time.



1916 missionary class
at Brigham Young University.
Courtesy Rell Francis
(photo by George E. Anderson).

business men.”⁵² Individual programs offered by the Commercial School included a general high school course which led to graduation, a brief bookkeeping course yielding a special certificate, a course in bookkeeping and arithmetic, and a course in shorthand and typing.⁵³

During the 1904-5 school year the Commercial School had rather commodious facilities in the Academy Building. J.B. Keeler was still supervising the work in this department with major support from E.H. Holt and Frederick Warnick.⁵⁴ Warnick taught the business math and ethics courses; Keeler, accounting; and Holt, shorthand and stenography. A number of student instructors and several nonacademic specialists assisted with the work. Other specialty courses, such as penmanship and telegraphy, were taught by Earl J. Glade, who had studied at the Rochester Business Institute, and Sarah E. Preston, formerly a professional telegrapher.⁵⁵ Commercial law courses were combined with a few criminal law classes taught by Judge John E. Booth, one of the school's oldest faculty members.

George Brimhall, Josiah Hickman, and James Brown supervised education courses in the high school and college. Brimhall's exposure to educational ideas through National Educational Association conferences, personal travel, and study compensated, to some extent, for his limited formal education. Brimhall, as well as the entire normal program, manifested the influence of Benjamin Cluff's training at the

52. *Brigham Young Academy and Church Normal Training School Catalogue and Announcements*, 1902-3, p. 16.

53. Edward L. Christensen, "College of Business: A Century of Progress at Brigham Young University," *BYU Archives*, pp. 54-55.

54. Holt received the B. Pd. in 1895 and the B.D. in 1897 from Brigham Young Academy.

55. Brimhall wrote President Joseph F. Smith that Earl Glade had gone to the East in 1902 "to qualify himself as an expert penman and accountant, and his preparation there, in addition to his former preparation and natural fitness for this work, has made his services almost indispensable. . . . He is a man of exceptional energy, humility and good spirit" (Brimhall to Smith, 11 May 1904, *Brimhall Presidential Papers*). Glade later founded radio station KSL in Salt Lake City and served for two terms as mayor of Salt Lake City.

University of Michigan. The Training School program and the pedagogy course, combined with other disciplines such as psychology, mathematics, and physical sciences to provide academic training and practical experience for normal students.

The Brigham Young University education program was very active in the state, hosting many conferences, summer schools, and teachers institutes. Lilian H. Cannon, graduate of Oswego Normal Institute, and, after her, Ella Larson from Columbia, were excellent teaching supervisors.⁵⁶ Their Training School program compared favorably with that of the University of Utah. The Kindergarten Department program, under the direction of Ida Smoot Dusenberry, trained teachers for Utah elementary schools. Mrs. Dusenberry was prominent in her field and active in getting legislation for kindergarten training in Utah.

Formal education classes accounted for only part of the school's teacher training program. Brigham Young University's role as a religious institution provided widespread teaching opportunities to a great number of students, especially in the Preparatory and Missionary departments. In addition to training teachers for the Church school system, BYU offered courses in MIA and Sunday School work, thus clearly establishing itself as a center for the development of Mormon educational philosophy.

Faculty Life: Unity in Diversity

Though Brigham Young University faculty members during the early Brimhall years were united in their goal of providing quality education for Mormon youth, they represented a complete diversity of talents and a cross section of LDS life in the early 1900s. Some, like John C. Swensen, felt

56. Teaching supervisors were responsible for "taking charge of a grade and teaching it during three hours in the forenoon under the observation of young people taking training, and then in the afternoon observing the teaching of these practice teachers, and further in aiding and directing them in their work, and especially in offering criticisms on their work" (George H. Brimhall to May C. Baker, 18 May 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers).

compelled to orient their thinking around the scientific philosophies they encountered in their studies. Others, like Clarence Jarvis, Harvey Fletcher, Nathaniel Baldwin, and Chester Van Buren, were young scholars preparing themselves for study in the East and careers outside Utah. Still others, such as Anthon Lund and Earl Glade, possessed remarkable skills which drew around them a number of excited disciples. There were, of course, dedicated and efficient organizers like J.B. Keeler and Edwin S. Hinckley who helped pull so much diversity together. With such a wide spectrum of personalities on the faculty, there were some disagreements in doctrine, some clashes in temperament, and some differences in methodology, but in general the teachers were united and loyal to the school.

Struggle and sacrifice were two common denominators that unified the faculty. A few, like Charles Maw, had been able to get their education without financial hardship, but most had sacrificed for their training. James L. Brown, for instance, after losing two children in one week from a diphtheria epidemic in 1892, was virtually destitute at the University of Michigan during the financial panic of 1893. Clair Reed lost his wife under equally pathetic circumstances in 1904. W. H. Boyle worked in the mines and hauled lumber to earn his way through Brigham Young Academy in the early 1890s. N.L. Nelson, endeavoring to grow a good crop of hay as a supplemental income, was totally disappointed when the crop failed and his hopes of being able to pay his debt to the Church were blasted. He

had the satisfaction of seeing the crop growing and the oats in the boot when I left for school at the beginning of September. Two weeks later, Bro. Collett wrote that I would probably have fifty tons of hay. This fact made me feel blest. Hay would bring \$20.00 per ton in the spring — it is even higher than that now — and I should be able to settle all my debts. But alas, a few days later a heavy frost cut the growing crop to the ground. I managed to get only six small loads of inferior hay.⁵⁷

57. N.L. Nelson to Joseph F. Smith, 8 May 1907, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

Debt was the teacher's constant companion, and more practical men sometimes suggested that teachers were a poor lot of ethereal minds who starved for want of good business sense. The remark may have been true, but, in contrast to those who were building fortunes, teachers had the satisfaction of knowing they were building men. Cluff and Brimhall enthusiastically replied to applications from prospective teachers, but they were unable to offer attractive salaries.⁵⁸ Cluff wrote Charles Maw that the school could probably offer him \$1100 for his first year at BYU. However, Cluff advised that he

would not allow the matter of salary to stand in the way for the first year. You have a reputation to make, you are in a measure an untried teacher in the chemical laboratory, and when you have demonstrated your ability as a teacher the salary will easily come to you. We desire our teachers in the Academy to enter in upon their work in the spirit of a missionary and to stand in that attitude before the students and their fellow teachers. Of course we expect to pay just as good salaries as are paid in any of the schools in the state, but at the same time we do not choose our teachers simply from a monetary or professional point of view, but also from the point of view of the spirit of the Gospel. If I did not think that you were a good Latter-day Saint, humble and prayerful, I would not have you in the Academy at any price.⁵⁹

58. The following is a list of salaries of selected faculty members for the school years 1905-6 and 1908-9:

	1905-6	1908-9
O.W. Andelin	\$1,127	\$1,127
G.H. Brimhall	2,352	2,352
J.L. Brown	1,372	1,500
E.H. Eastmond	938	1,500
E.S. Hinckley	1,470	1,600
J.B. Keeler	1,568	1,600
A.C. Lund	1,750	1,750
C.E. Maw	1,176	1,300
Alfred Osmond	1,323	1,500
E.D. Partridge	1,279	1,300
J.C. Swensen	1,400	1,500
W.F. Ward	976	1,250

59. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Charles E. Maw, 15 April 1903, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Financial embarrassment was only avoided by procuring supplemental income. In the words of T. Earl Pardoe, "To teach in the Brigham Young Academy, one had to own and till a farm and to be obliged to take watering turns between classes."⁶⁰ N. L. Nelson, O. W. Andelin, J. C. Swensen, E.S. Hinckley, J. L. Brown, George Brimhall, and others did extracurricular farming to supplement their income. John C. Swensen and other teachers worked for the school in the summers doing painting and other maintenance work.

During the 1907-8 school year, a few of the teachers invested some of their earnings in mining stock, hoping that the mining boom would bring them a sudden change of fortune. According to John C. Swensen, "Stock speculation in mining shares came to be something of a mania among many of our citizens. For a time it seemed a great and profitable sport, but the inevitable crash came, and with it, a sobering and painful experience."⁶¹ Francis Kirkham asked Jesse Knight which mining stock he should buy. Knight told him that "if 'Iron Blossom' struck ore it would be a wonderful mine to invest in, but he would not advise me to do anything specific. I began my speculation in mining and inasmuch as stocks were advancing I made some money and finally decided to place my advancements in 'Iron Blossom.' My experience, briefly, is this. Iron Blossom did strike ore and we received \$800.00 a month in dividends!"⁶² However, "this \$800.00 a month continued for only a relatively few months. At the most, as I remember, it continued not quite until the end of our school year. Many, many people in Provo who had anticipated becoming rich were bitterly disappointed."⁶³

Though faculty business ventures were seldom successful, they nevertheless helped establish a bond of common interest among teachers at the school. Kirkham, with Joseph R. Murdock and others, later invested heavily in the Provo Reservoir Company, which also ran into financial difficulty. Other busi-

60. T. Earl Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham*, p. 94.

61. "Autobiography of John C. Swensen," p. 28.

62. Autobiography of Francis Kirkham, BYU Archives, part IV, p. 11.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ness and social activities were undertaken in the spirit of community interest. John C. Swensen remembered that several families established a summer camp at Wildwood in Provo Canyon. The camp "was made up at that time almost entirely of University people and including the children there were more than 100 people in camp. We established a Sunday School and every Sunday morning a brief worship was held with an evening worship also. The group life was simple, unconventional, and very democratic, all of which led to a very wholesome community group."⁶⁴ The "Sunshine Club," an informal social group for wives of faculty members, was started in the 1890s. The school community was so close knit that it seemed almost like a family organization. In fact, two of Brimhall's sons-in-law, Lafayette Holbrook and J. Will Knight, were influential Board members, while Hinckleys, Smoots, Maesers, Cannons, and Youngs were liberally sprinkled among the names of faculty and students. A number of the descendants of Myron Tanner, David John, S. S. Jones, Harvey Cluff, and Benjamin Cluff continued their family relationship with the school.

Because of the sense of sacrifice and dedication associated with the school, Brigham Young University was very conscious of its own history. In 1907 Alfred Osmond wrote,

The Prophet resolved that a temple of learning
Should stand at the base of this great mountain chain,
He knew that the souls of our sons would be yearning,
For all the great truths that creations contain;
And so he asked God for the gift of the Spirit
That leads men away from the darkness of night.
This gift which our school has the right to inherit
Will bind it forever to forces of light.

The voice of that Spirit is ever heard calling
The youth of our school to the standards of right.
It bids them to seek out the weak who are falling,
And lead them away from diseases that blight;
It calls them to delve for the treasures of knowledge

64. "Autobiography of John C. Swensen," p. 30.

In caverns of gloom where no light ever came —
 This spirit of truth is the star of our college
 That shines o'er the spires of its temple of fame.⁶⁵

As faculty and students marched to the Academy Building in the early fall of each year to celebrate Founders Day, the eulogies given the founders of BYU and the embellishment of past history grew into a rich oral tradition. The tales were told over and over again. T. Earl Pardoe, who joined the faculty during the Brimhall period, said that J.B. Keeler

came to welcome me to the University in early 1919 and we sat down in College Hall, a place which came to mean much to me. It was already something special to him. 'Do you know what this building is and how it came to be?' he asked. In a few minutes, I heard the story of its building, the donors and even the seats around us, most of them with small bronze plaques designating the persons who gave the chairs to furnish the room. I learned how the University was built, heard the names of many who had profited by its teaching, was told that character, devotion and sacrifice were traditional foundations.⁶⁶

Though some of the tales were exaggerated or even untrue, the stories of the sacrifices of the school's founders provided BYU with a solid tradition of fortitude and dedication.

Like Brimhall, many BYU faculty members were actively involved in politics. Reed Smoot's election to the Senate in 1902, his victory in the Senate investigation conducted about him, his subsequent reelections, and his homecomings were often the objects of BYU-affiliated rallies and receptions.⁶⁷ When the news came that Smoot had officially been seated in the Senate, Brigham Young University had a great time celebrating "the day when civil and religious liberty was vindicated in the Senate. As the news came flashing over the wire at

65. Alfred Osmond, "Our Guide," *White and Blue*, 16 October 1907.

66. Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham*, p. 99.

67. The reelection campaign of 1908 was particularly heated, and BYU became involved in debates which reached even to the hierarchy of the Church (James Clove to Reed Smoot, 16 January 1908, Reed Smoot Papers).

3 o'clock, the students assembled in College Hall, which is now too small. . . . A program, partly arranged by the College Faculty, was carried out."⁶⁸

Various Prohibition campaigns were spearheaded by educators throughout the state, and Provo was no exception. Besides the campaign to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1919, there had been several earlier movements in favor of Prohibition in Provo. Many BYU professors supported the proposed liquor option law that would have allowed individual counties to decide the Prohibition issue for themselves. Church leaders were divided on the issue. Postmaster James Clove wrote Reed Smoot, who opposed Prohibition at that time, that he "thought that matters were warm in Salt Lake City, but they are warmer right here in Provo. The Knight interests and the BYU people are simply dancing a war dance over this issue. Professors of the BYU are about beside themselves."⁶⁹

In June 1909 faculty members submitted a resolution, accompanied by a list of student signatures, asking the Board of Trustees to petition the Provo City Council "for the abolishment of the saloon in this city."⁷⁰ In November of the same year, Brimhall gave a rousing devotional speech on Prohibition. He said,

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68. George H. Brimhall to J.E. Hickman, 23 February 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers; *see also* George H. Brimhall to C.W. Penrose, 8 March 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers. For information on Smoot's seating in the Senate and the BYU faculty's response to the trial, *see* "Current Events," *White and Blue*, 12 February 1904; J.B. Keeler to Reed Smoot, 3 March 1903, Reed Smoot Papers; Ida S. Dusenberry to Reed Smoot, 9 March 1903, Reed Smoot Papers; and J.B. Keeler to Reed Smoot, 8 March 1904, Reed Smoot Papers.
 69. Clove to Smoot, 4 February 1909, Reed Smoot Papers. *See also* Clove to Smoot, 29 August 1910, Reed Smoot Papers; and Diary of Reed Smoot, 4 October 1911.
 70. BYU Faculty Minutes, 14 June 1909. J.B. Keeler encouraged Utah Stake members to support Prohibition. *See* Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 August 1908 and 7 January 1909. *See also* Utah Stake Priesthood Minutes, 28 March 1908; and N.L. Nelson, "The Betrayal of Utah: An Open Letter to Governor Wm. Spry," written in 1915 and widely circulated throughout the state.

I shall never look a saloon in the face and see there any part of me or my power. If it opens its doors, it is against my protest. I protest against it in the name of my manhood; I protest against it in the name of my brotherhood; I protest against it in the name of my fatherhood; I protest against it in the name of my priesthood, which is the connecting link between godhood and manhood. I protest against it in the name of citizenship. . . . The question comes up, shall we as a school go out at 4 o'clock today and assist prohibition. I told the committee that they had my official consent to take the faculty and students. Shall we go?⁷¹

They went. The University was also involved in a number of lesser political issues dealing with local pool rooms, barber-shops, and public dancing places.⁷²

The greatest force promoting faculty unity was the teachers' common faith. Faculty members were devoted to their Church assignments. Ida Smoot Dusenberry served as a counselor in the general presidency of the LDS Relief Society, and Brimhall served on the general board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. In 1901 J.B. Keeler was first counselor in the Utah Stake presidency; George Brimhall and Wilson Dusenberry were on the high council; and John E. Booth was president of the high priests quorum. E.D. Partridge, E.S. Hinckley, and E.H. Smart served in bishoprics. J. E. Hickman, Caleb Tanner, Alice Reynolds, and Lilian Cannon served on the stake MIA Board. E. H. Holt, faculty secretary, and O. W. Andelin were superintendents of Sun-

71. "Remarks by President Brimhall," 1 November 1909, box 34, folder 6, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

72. Postmaster James Clove wrote Reed Smoot on 25 January 1908: "The manager of the poolroom next door to me is growing rich in furnishing amusement for the boys. He is now taking the old Elks' quarters over the post office, and will there run ten tables for the edification of the young. The University is having quite a time to combat this so-called temperance place of amusement. It is having a baneful influence" (Reed Smoot Papers). For J.B. Keeler's comments on public dances, see Utah Stake Priesthood Minutes, 5 January 1906, Church Historical Department.

day Schools, while John C. Swensen and F.G. Warnick served as home missionaries.

Parents who sent their children to BYU expected the school to build the faith of their young people. They felt that no amount of education could compensate for a loss of faith. As Reed Smoot stated, "Among us a person is not held to be properly educated unless trained morally and spiritually, as well as mentally and physically." Brimhall, who was sensitive to the moral responsibility of the school, worked diligently to see that students were socially satisfied, happy with their environment, committed to the Church, and determined to be models of righteous conduct.

Healings by administration, gifts of inspiration, and the power of testimony were all manifest in the school. In a letter to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who was then on the expedition to South America, George H. Brimhall wrote,

When I wrote you last we were in the midst of a smallpox scare. Six students had the disease and over twenty were quarantined. . . . I took the matter under advisement with the Board of Health, and they with me thought it would be better for the school to remain in session than to dismiss. On the first Sunday of this month we held a special fast meeting in College Hall. . . . We began by bearing our testimonies. Brother Andelin and I had decided to call on Brother Francis Kirkham to offer the special prayer, but just before we were going to call on him he arose and began speaking in a collected tone of voice and then suddenly burst forth in prophecy, and shook the bodies of every one in the building from the spirit that was manifest there, and he prophesied that not one case of smallpox should come from the present state of contagion. Many thought that this was too bold a statement and I believe doubted it, but the universal feeling was that it was true, and Brother Nelson bore testimony to the truth of the prophecy. And we passed through the period during which every case of exposure should break out and there was not a single one.

To Brimhall, it was "really a miracle."⁷³

73. Brimhall to Cluff, 28 November 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Perhaps less apparent, but surely not less important, was the number of ways in which scholastic programs were undergirded by principles of faith. Teachers responded to President Brimhall obediently, and though they felt free to bargain and discuss, they generally went where they were told and did what they were asked to do. Each teacher signed a pledge to the school, promising that he would follow the Church education program. The pledge had originated with Maeser and was a regular part of teachers' contracts. In 1904 ninety-eight percent of the faculty paid tithing. Church officials occasionally considered deducting ten percent tithing from teachers' salaries, but the tithing program remained voluntary.⁷⁴ In addition, most faculty members contributed one percent of their income to a furlough program for Church teachers, and most participated freely and unselfishly in the Church education work, speaking to and meeting with wards throughout the Church. The dedication of Anthony Lund was representative of the loyalty BYU faculty members felt to the school and the Church. Professor Lund's father Anthon H. Lund, a member of the First Presidency, wrote in his diary that he spoke to President Joseph F. Smith

about Tony moving here [to Salt Lake City] and he thought he ought to take this opportunity of taking a chair in the University. Tony said afterwards, I'd like to come here but I can not get the feel that I am doing the right thing. There [Provo] I have a fine class that will take years to work up. There I meet with the whole school every morning and I feel the Spirit of God is there. Can money compensate me for leaving? He almost cried in speaking his mind. I told him not to come except he felt he would do the right thing in doing so. I honored him for his love for Church school work.⁷⁵

Growth of the University

When BYU became the official Church Teachers College,

74. BYU Faculty Minutes, 29 September 1908. *See also* Harvey Fletcher, "History of Harvey Fletcher," pp. 41-42.

75. Journal of Anthon H. Lund, July 1907, Church Historical Department.

an era of scholastic growth began. Henry and Joseph Peterson were added to the faculty in 1907; Ralph Chamberlin in 1908; and W.H. Chamberlin in 1909. Henry Peterson was particularly influential in the area of counseling, serving on the Church General Board of Religion Classes and the Church General Sunday School Board.⁷⁶ He was also a member of a committee appointed by the Sunday School to deal with young people with special problems.⁷⁷ The local Sunday School board had requested him to be stake Sunday School superintendent, but his involvement in the Religion Class and Sunday School work in Salt Lake City had prevented him from accepting the position. In 1910 he created a stir among Religion Class teachers by advocating the use of professionals in local religion classes.

Joseph Peterson was the first Ph.D. to ever be employed at Brigham Young University.⁷⁸ He had worked with Dr. John B. Watson, the famous experimental psychologist, receiving his doctor's degree in 1907 at the University of Chicago. His psychology courses at BYU gained statewide fame within a few months after he joined the faculty.⁷⁹

In 1908 J.H. Paul wrote Brimhall that Ralph Chamberlin was "one of the world's foremost naturalists, though, I think, he is only about 28 years of age. I have not met his equal. . . . We must not let him drift away."⁸⁰ Brimhall responded by hiring Chamberlin as a member of the BYU faculty. Chamberlin had been the head of the Department of Biology at the University of Utah for three years, and his coming to Brigham Young University was hailed by all as a propitious event. His academic accomplishments were exceptional; on several occasions he was invited to read papers before national scholastic

76. Sunday School General Board Minutes, 26 June 1907; Religion Class General Board Minutes, 22 June 1910, Church Historical Department.

77. Sunday School General Board Minutes, 19 July 1909; Religion Class General Board Minutes, 4 April 1908.

78. "Biographical," *White and Blue*, 15 November 1907.

79. See a letter to Dr. Joseph Peterson, 16 August 1909, box 15, folder 2, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

80. Paul to Brimhall, 4 February 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

organizations.⁸¹ Though his area of specialization was entomology, Chamberlin had background in other sciences as well.

W.H. Chamberlin was influenced by the psychologists and philosophers of his day, and he had a dynamic personality that was most impressive to his students.⁸² He was trained in modern and ancient languages, and he had taught religion classes in the Church system on various occasions.

In addition to these outstanding educators, the catalogue for 1910 listed the following full-time faculty members added to the staff after 1904:

James L. Barker, A.B., History (U of U)
 Fred Bennion, A. B., Physical Education (U of U)
 Alma L. Binzel, B.S., Education (Columbia Teachers College)
 Elbert H. Eastmond, B.Pd., Fine Arts and Manual Training (BYA)
 Vilate Elliott, B.Pd., Domestic Art (BYU)
 Moses Gudmundson, Music
 Elmer E. Hinckley, M.D., Nursing
 Francis W. Kirkham, A.B., History (Stanford)
 George C. Laney, B.S., Woodwork (BYU)
 Amos N. Merrill, B.S., M.A., Agriculture (Agricultural College of Iowa)
 Andrew T. Rasmussen, A.B., Biology (BYU)
 Loa Roberts, Oral Expression and Physical Culture
 Chester Snow, A.D., Physics (Harvard)
 May Ward, B.Pd., Domestic Science (BYA)

Most of the new teachers possessed credentials that were very impressive for faculty members at a Church school.

James L. Barker, a gifted linguist, added breadth to the Modern Languages Department, teaching classes in phonetics, French, and German. W.H. Chamberlin's Hebrew, Greek, and Latin courses created the University's first De-

81. R.V. Chamberlin to George H. Brimhall, 1 December 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

82. George H. Brimhall to W.H. Chamberlin, 18 March 1909, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

partment of Ancient Languages. He offered classes in grammar, composition, the study of basic classical texts and advanced courses in biblical readings. Biology courses, under the direction of Ralph Chamberlin, included vertebrate zoology, animal histology, vertebrate embryology, entomology, human physiology, neurology, and general principles of biology. Chamberlin led insect-hunting field trips and supervised student research papers on biological subjects.

Chamberlin's excellent work in biological sciences freed Edwin S. Hinckley and his assistant, Fred Buss, to teach geological sciences. Chester Snow, a Harvard graduate, rapidly improved the Physics Department. He added considerable material to the labs, laying the groundwork for future BYU physicists, such as Harvey Fletcher, Vern Knudsen, Carl Eyring, and Ray Olpin.⁸³ In the History Department, John C. Swensen and Christen Jensen (a graduate with an M.A. degree from Harvard) offered courses in history, government, and economics. Together they were able to organize a much more extensive program than Swensen had been able to offer alone. Henry Peterson, A.C. Lund, and James L. Brown conducted a wide variety of education courses, offering teacher training to philosophy, music, and psychology students. W. H. Chamberlin and Joseph Peterson offered new classes in philosophy and psychology. Peterson's psychology classes brought the school its first real psychology program, including nine separate courses in general and experimental psychology. The Collegiate Department also featured a complete course in the fine and applied arts.

In 1910 George Brimhall offered Eugene Roberts, a gifted student of physical education at Yale, the position of athletic coach and chairman of the Department of Physical Education.⁸⁴ Roberts had been trained in all major sports. He

83. Fletcher later became second in command at Bell Laboratories; Knudsen became chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles; Eyring became dean of the BYU College of Arts and Sciences; and Olpin was appointed president of the University of Utah.

84. Marva Hudson Gregory, "The Life and Educational Contributions of E.L. Roberts" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1952), p. 32.

was offered positions at several schools, but he sacrificed the prospects of higher salary and accepted Brimhall's offer to come to BYU. Roberts immediately began making plans for invitational tournaments in high school basketball, Church school basketball, track and field, tennis, swimming, and gymnastics.⁸⁵

Roberts's training and natural intellectual ability influenced the entire University program. He rejected the idea that athletics was for a favored few and announced a program designed to increase the health and vigor of the entire student body. He was "not primarily interested in the star athlete or the Olympic hero. Our primary objective is not to turn out winning athletic teams, even though, if a large number of men report for practice and training, we shall win our share of victories. We are concerned about the physical and social welfare of every student."⁸⁶

Roberts refused to proselyte athletes or give them special privileges and jobs. He placed athletes "along with all other students."⁸⁷ Along with Henry Rose, he led BYU's basketball and gymnastics teams to several league victories. In 1911 he started the BYU Invitational Track Meet, which proved a great success and has continued annually since then. In 1912 Roberts established the annual Timpanogos Hike, which soon became a traditional University event.

With increasing emphasis on programs as diverse as entomology and physical education, Brigham Young University was becoming more than just a teachers college. From 1909 to 1911 college student registration began to dominate the school, and individual departments implemented independent university programs.

Facilities

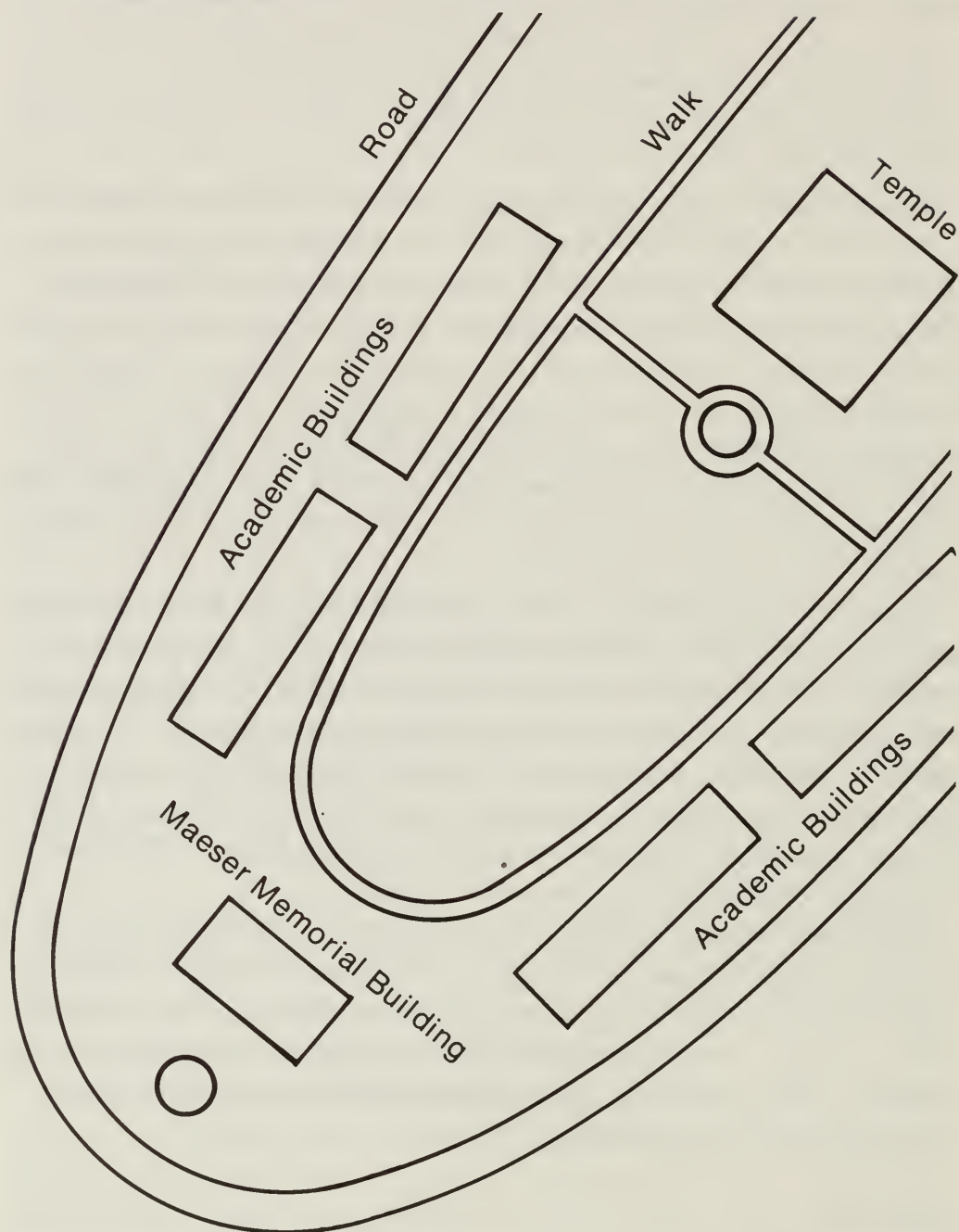
The Maeser Memorial Building, though small by modern standards, was a prestigious facility in 1911. Elaborately but

85. Ibid., p. 33.

86. Ibid., p. 38.

87. Ibid., p. 39.

Ware and Treganza Master Plan, 1909



Replica of 1909 Ware and Treganza campus plan reproduced from memory by Fred L. Markham and Kiefer B. Sauls in 1973. The building site opposite the Maeser Memorial would be about where the Eyring Science Center now stands. Kiefer B. Sauls remembers this to be the proposed temple site. Fred L. Markham recalls the outline of a proposed building at that location, but he does not remember that the word "temple" was on the plan.

rather inefficiently planned, the 19,335 square feet of the building provided the college student body little more than ten classrooms and an auditorium large enough to seat 400 people. The Maeser Memorial was planned as the administrative center of the new campus to be built on Temple Hill. Ware and Traganza, the Maeser Memorial architects, also devised a master plan for the rest of the University campus (*see* accompanying diagram).

In 1912 the school published plans to build an elaborate \$300,000 central building to house the school's college, including a library of 50,000 volumes, described as the largest in the state. Besides the library, this facility was to house faculty offices and the departments of art and archeology. In addition, the basement was to contain "cloak rooms provided with metal lockers for six hundred students and furnished in tile or marble; unpacking rooms; editorial rooms; a mailing and document room; a telephone room for the private University exchange of fifty or sixty instruments; a post office; a bookstore; and possibly a class room or two."⁸⁸ The structure was to match the Maeser Building, which was made of sandstone. Financial difficulties, however, made it impossible to initiate construction on the new building, and the school had to resort to other means of providing adequate facilities.

The result was that college students had to be crowded in with those taking lower division work on lower campus. With the exception of the upper floor college gymnasium, the Training School Building was completely filled with grammar school students. The Art Building (Missionary-Preparatory Building) also housed some elementary classes, since the grammar school had become too large for the Training School Building. The seventh and eighth grades were housed on the main floor of the Art Building. The basement of the Academy Building accommodated the school's woodwork shop, the science laboratory facilities, and offices of many of the science teachers. Rooms which needed special plumbing

88. "University Plans Big Central Building," *Provo Post*, 13 July 1912.



Room D in the Education
(Academy) Building around 1905.
The room served as a study
hall and library facility.



Library study area
in the Education
Building as it appeared
in 1920.

or fixtures had to be remodelled. College classes were squeezed in wherever space permitted.

Library space was enlarged by expansion within the Academy Building. Several rooms, including Room D (the student study hall) were added to the library. When the school acquired Judge Whitecotton's fine liberal arts library through the efforts of Alice Reynolds and dedicated students, it was placed reverently in a special room on the north end of the Academy Building.⁸⁹

The Ladies Gymnasium, started in 1912 and completed in 1913, supplemented the recreational facilities of the school. Designed as a dance hall as well as a gymnasium, the new facility housed numerous school social activities.

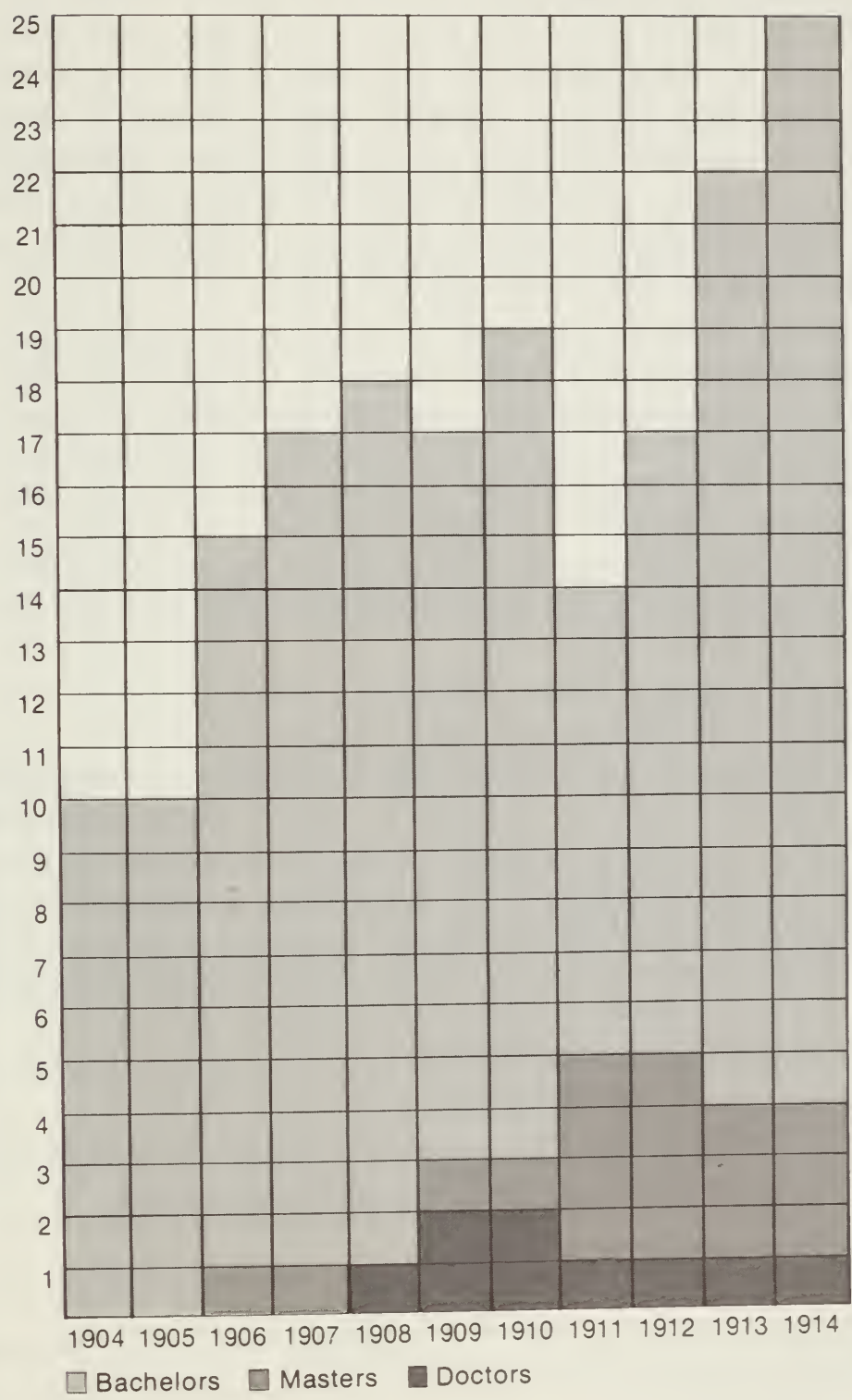
Faculty and Curriculum After the Modernism Controversy

The modernism controversy, which led to the resignation or termination of some of BYU's most educated professors, also produced some marked changes in the educational objectives of the school for the balance of the Brimhall Administration. The aggressiveness of the collegiate program was blunted, and much of the school's confidence in philosophy and letters as such gave way to a more cautious and pragmatic approach. Teacher training returned as the major function of the academic program.

By 1915 the BYU faculty included fifty-six full-time teachers. Though the faculty was not significantly larger than it had been in 1904, the level of faculty academic training rose steadily after the 1911 slump (*see* accompanying chart). Most faculty members taught lower division classes along with their college courses. Of the major faculty members teaching at the end of 1914, only Amos Merrill, E.D. Partridge, Alfred Osmond, W.H. Chamberlin, Alice Reynolds, and Christen Jensen were scheduled to teach college classes exclusively. The rest of the collegiate faculty also taught high school or training school classes. The normal and training school work received

89. "Whitecotton Library," *White and Blue*, 1 March 1916. The Provo judge sold his library to the school for half its actual value.

BYU Faculty
Qualifications by Academic Degree, 1904-14



top priority. Brimhall congratulated Eugene Roberts for having "well chosen the lines of your investigation and study." Roberts seemed to clearly understand that "we have here a training school for teachers and that par excellence in that line will give us a very much better standing as an educational institution than mediocre work in a variety of lines."⁹⁰ George Thomas, representative of the Utah State Board of Education who later became president of the University of Utah, assured the State Board that the work done by the Church university was at least equal to state requirements:

During the two days I inspected the work of the training school and that of twelve teachers, I found the work varying from medium to excellent, but in no case of such poor quality as to be condemned. So I feel that it can safely be said that the class work is of high enough quality to pass inspection. . . . The scholarship of the faculty compared with similar institutions is reasonably good. The chief criticism I have against it is that there is too much inbreeding.⁹¹

Manpower Losses

In the period from 1914 to 1916 a number of faculty members left the University.⁹² James L. Barker became principal of Weber Academy in Ogden in 1914. Edwin S. Hinckley became superintendent of the State Industrial School in the same city,⁹³ while Harvey Fletcher accepted a position with Bell Laboratories in New York City. William Chamberlin said he was leaving to continue his "studies in the East."⁹⁴ Chamberlin's decision to leave the University was apparently

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- 90. Brimhall to Roberts, 28 September 1916, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 - 91. George Thomas to State Board of Education, 10 June 1915, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 - 92. George Brimhall to Presiding Bishopric Office, 28 September 1916, box 24, folder 6, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
 - 93. "Dean E. S. Hinckley Will Head the State Industrial School," *White and Blue*, 25 January 1915.
 - 94. W.H. Chamberlin to George H. Brimhall, 12 March 1916, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

influenced by his relationship with the administration. He wrote his brother Ralph that,

Greatly to my surprise, the President told me yesterday that most of my courses had been cut out for next year and that what were left had been put in the Department of Education. I am to work under direction in certain minor courses in Education and Psychology, and am also expected to teach some classes in elementary Mathematics.

There has been a great demand for my work. Twenty-two of the leading college students are taking Philosophy of Nature; over fifty are taking Social Psychology; I have eight graduate students and some seniors taking a seminar in Bergson. Until recently I have had over two hundred students. In one class I have more students than are in either the Department of Physics or that of Biology, whose heads receive materially larger salaries than I, and who have much help. There are other disagreeable things.

On account of such things I am writing my resignation this evening.⁹⁵

Earl Glade left for Salt Lake City to enter business.⁹⁶ Christen Jensen left to attend the University of Chicago, though he remained very close to Brimhall during his schooling in Illinois.⁹⁷

In July 1916, while Brimhall was on vacation, Anthony Lund announced that he had been appointed director of the Tabernacle Choir. Amos Merrill and J.B. Keeler appealed to President Smith. They were "very sure that if President

95. Quoted in R.V. Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy of W.H. Chamberlin*, p. 211.

96. See Earl J. Glade to E.H. Holt, 8 March 1915, box 22, folder 3, Brimhall Presidential Papers; and Presidency of BYU to Earl J. Glade, 12 March 1915, Brimhall Presidential Papers. For Glade's accomplishments at BYU, see "National Recognition Given Prof. Earl J. Glade," *White and Blue*, 13 March 1914; and "Senior Honors," *White and Blue*, 20 March 1914.

97. See Jensen to Brimhall, 1 October 1916, Brimhall Presidential Papers; and Brimhall to Jensen, 6 October 1916, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

Brimhall were here he would very much desire to put before you the needs of the Brigham Young University in the department of music. It has taken the institution years to build up this branch of school work, and the success that has attended our efforts with Professor Lund's wonderful talents will make it almost impossible for us to keep up the standard if he severs his connection with us."⁹⁸ But the letter did not help. When he was notified of Lund's change, Brimhall wrote Lund that "Your leaving the school will weaken it more than the taking away any *other one of us*."⁹⁹ Though Brimhall's pleas had been successful on earlier occasions, Lund accepted the call to be director of the Tabernacle Choir. About the time of Lund's departure, the school almost lost Eugene L. Roberts to the Deseret Gymnasium. Once again Brimhall's counselors wrote President Smith.¹⁰⁰ Their appeal was successful, and Professor Roberts remained at BYU.

Brimhall moved swiftly to replace the faculty members that left the University. He chose Amos Merrill to be his second counselor. W.E. Morgan (history and government), L.H. Peterson (psychology and education), C.W. Whittaker (foreign languages), Sherwin Maeser (mathematics and chemistry), and C.W. Reid (music) joined the faculty directly from graduate school. Most of the new faculty members had attended BYU at some time in their educational career. W.E. Morgan and L.H. Peterson had masters degrees. Sherwin Maeser was a graduate of the University of Chicago. Several new instructors were hired to bolster the growing Business Department.¹⁰¹ Edgar M. Jensen, a graduate of BYU, joined the Correlated Arts Department.

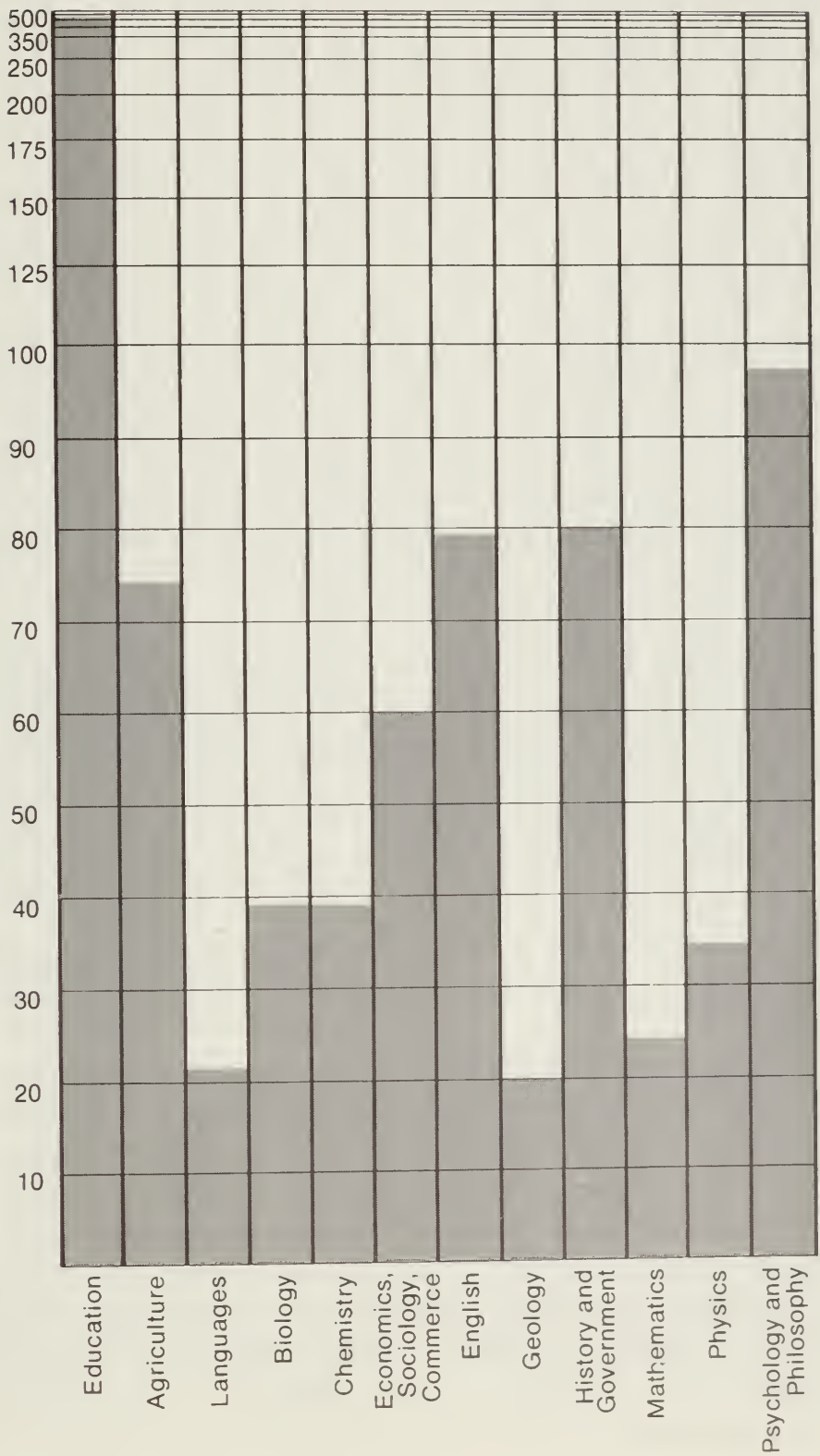
98. Amos Merrill and Joseph Keeler to President Joseph F. Smith and Counselors, 28 July 1916, box 24, folder 3, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

99. Brimhall to Lund, undated, attached to a telegram dated 28 July 1916, box 24, folder 5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

100. Amos Merrill and Joseph Keeler to Joseph F. Smith, 29 July 1916, box 24, folder 5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

101. They included Thatcher Jones (University of New York), Harold Dunn (BYU), Kiefer Sauls (BYU), Olga Wunderly (BYU), and Myrtle Hone (BYU).

BYU Collegiate Registration by Subject, 1915-16



Brigham Young University continued to focus on teacher training, as indicated by registration records for fall semester 1915. Of the twelve education courses listed in the catalog for the 1915-16 academic year, six were taught. Those six classes accounted for over 490 separate student registrations, covering high school, normal, college, and special students. Total enrollment for the combined Agriculture, Language, Biology, Chemistry, Economics-Sociology, History, English, Geology, Mathematics, Physics, and Philosophy-Psychology departments did not far exceed that enrollment (*see* accompanying chart). Thirty-three students graduated with bachelor's degrees from BYU in 1915. Of this number, twelve received degrees in education. The History and Language departments awarded three degrees each; the Physics, Home Economics, Chemistry, Mathematics, English, and Agronomy departments awarded two degrees each; and the Sociology, Commerce, and Psychology departments granted one bachelor's degree apiece.

The teacher training course was structured around a number of other departments which were used to supplement and develop the education curriculum. The music courses, for instance, were largely incorporated into the education work and were often given titles like "Music for Normal Students." Several art courses were also used in the normal program, such as "Form Study and Representation" and "Correlative Handicraft for Primary Grades." Likewise, several of the agriculture courses were correlated with the pedagogical program.

Though some departments, such as Agriculture and Correlated Arts, Music, and Philosophy-Psychology, had earned substantial praise and attention in Utah at various times, the years 1915 through 1918 represented a period of teacher training emphasis at Brigham Young University. Making academic courses ancillary to the Education Department may have accounted for some of the teacher resignations during this period, but most BYU faculty members supported Brimhall's vision of BYU as an institution for the development of teachers.

Closing Years of the Brimhall Period

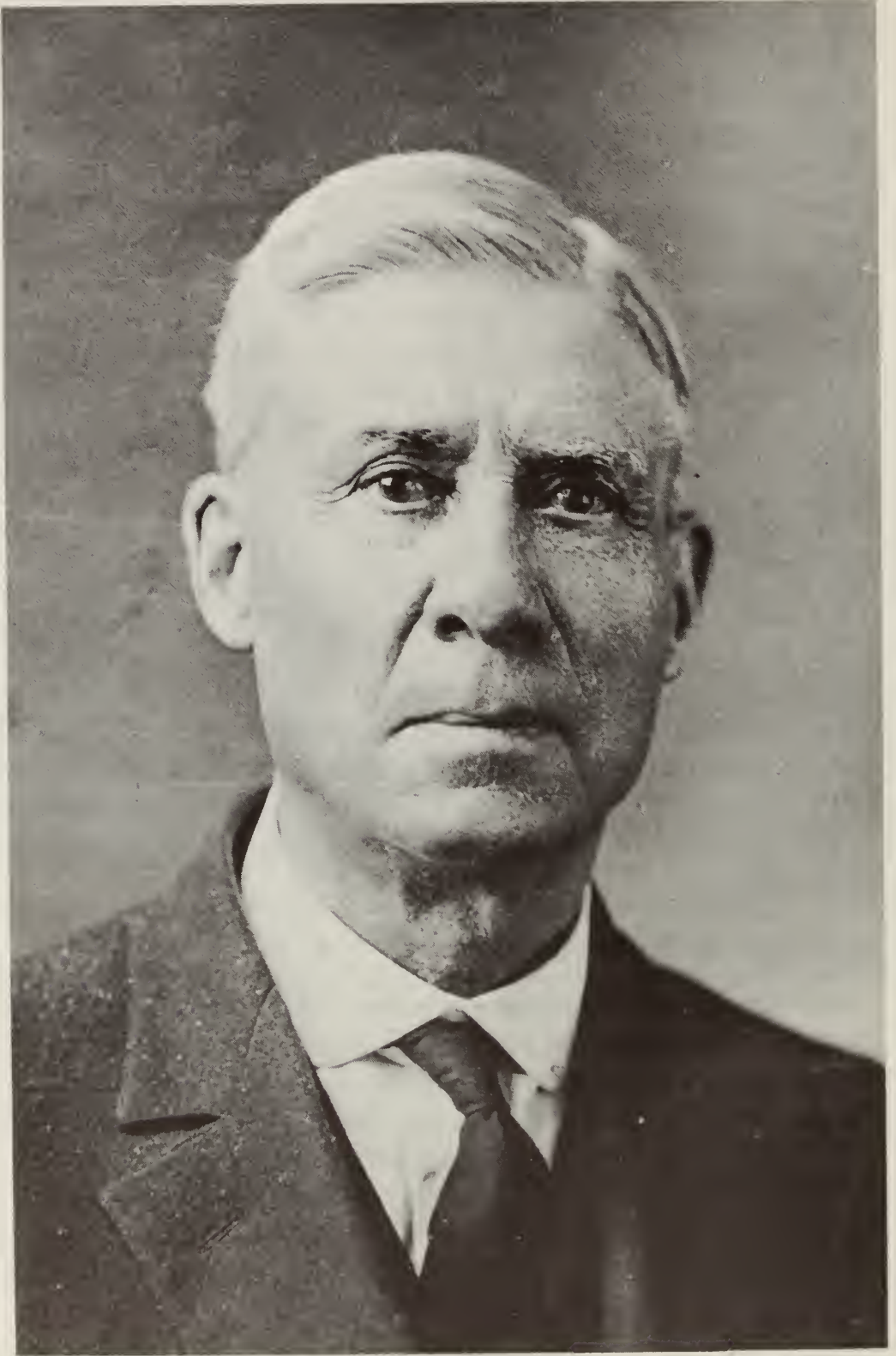
During the last years of Brimhall's administration, Brigham Young University was forced to make academic progress against the opposition of unfavorable financial conditions. President Brimhall did not get the physical plant that he needed. The last building to be added to the campus under his administration was the Mechanic Arts Building, built under the pressure of war. When Brimhall left the University in 1921 most of the school's facilities were still concentrated on lower campus. Though he had succeeded in attracting a number of fine academicians to the campus, many of them left the University after a short tenure. Most left for financial reasons; the school was continually forced to compromise its academic program because of financial problems.

The late Brimhall years were not void of progress, however. Eugene Roberts continued to field fine teams, especially in track and field. He coached two champion high jumpers: Alma Richards, an olympic champion, and Clinton Larson, who broke all of Richards's records.¹⁰² Martin Henderson, a reputable biologist who became famous for his moral lectures and his research on the Word of Wisdom, joined the faculty in 1914. Noted physicist Carl Eyring continued to bring prestige to the school as he enthusiastically moved the scientific program along.

Appraisal of Brimhall

George Henry Brimhall was a man who enjoyed spending his time with others in conversation or activity rather than spending time alone in study. This trait generally worked for the good of the school, for Brimhall's numerous friends rallied around him when he needed them, supporting him both morally and financially. Though much credit belongs to his supporters and his subordinates, Brimhall was the catalyst that brought the local community back to an awareness of its educational needs and responsibilities. His status as conver-

102. Gregory, "Life and Contributions of E.L. Roberts," pp. 55-59.



George H. Brimhall in later years.

sationalist and powerful speaker rather than academician and organizer appealed to the public.¹⁰³ He liked students, and there was much of the missionary in him. This made him especially effective in discharging his moral obligation as president of the official LDS Church University. His interest in ecclesiastical work and his complete loyalty to Church leaders won the school acceptance in the eyes of the presiding authorities of the Church. Brimhall guided the school as its president for seventeen years (the last two with the help of an executive committee), always maintaining a policy of cautious advancement toward academic goals. He concentrated on spiritual objectives, focusing the University's efforts on the challenge of molding students into faithful Latter-day Saints.

During Brimhall's last years as president of BYU, the scholastic reputation of the University declined. World War I took many students and faculty members away from the school, and Brimhall had difficulty replacing the skilled teachers that left the University. BYU's concentration on teacher training and the curtailment of its curriculum in areas regarded as customary for university work detracted from its status as a reputable university. In addition, the LDS Church commitment to education focused on the expanding seminary program during the late Brimhall years, and Brimhall himself began to devote much of his energy to that program. Relatively few students graduated from BYU during the closing years of Brimhall's administration. For instance, in 1921 (Brimhall's last year as president of BYU) only twelve people, including Ernest L. Wilkinson, graduated with college degrees from Brigham Young University. However, during this period BYU turned out some of its most noted graduates. What the school did, it did exceptionally well.

103. While everyone admitted Brimhall gave powerful sermons which "stirred us to the depths," E.L. Roberts wrote Franklin S. Harris that some people criticized Brimhall's "emotional response to many problems." They felt that "There is real educational danger . . . in powerful and colorful educators and ministers" (Roberts to Harris, 12 December 1934, Franklin S. Harris Presidential Papers, BYU Archives).

The difficulties of the last years of his administration did not detract from George Henry Brimhall's accomplishments as president of Brigham Young University. He presided over the University at an important time. In a real sense, his was an era of experimentation, and Brimhall directed an institution that had not completely defined its own identity. Given the situation of the school, Brimhall accomplished much, especially as a guide and counselor to the youth of the Church. After his retirement from the University, George H. Brimhall remained close to the school. President Emeritus Brimhall's spiritual steadiness complemented the intellectual surge of his successor, Franklin S. Harris. Despite chronic ill health, Brimhall lived to the age of eighty.

At the time of Brimhall's complete retirement in 1932, scores of individuals paid tribute to him. George Albert Smith, once a student at BYU who later became President of the LDS Church, said, "The life of Dr. George H. Brimhall was as a radiant star in the firmament of education. Endowed with unusual mentality yet humble as a child he devoted his life to inspiring faith in God." Ezra Taft Benson, who later became a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles and United States Secretary of Agriculture, asserted that "no man has so inspired me with so few spoken words as has President Brimhall in his famous four-minute 'assembly talks.'" Justice George Sutherland of the United States Supreme Court, a student with Brimhall in Brigham Young Academy's first year, called Brimhall "a staunch friend — a wise counselor — a good citizen — a teacher who never ceased to be a student."

A. Ray Olpin, a Brimhall student who later became president of the University of Utah, noted that Brimhall was "possessed of a stern demeanor, and bluntly frank in expressing his aims and convictions." However, Dr. Olpin continued, "George H. Brimhall was endowed with the most sympathetic understanding and greatest power of appreciation of any man I have ever met." Emma Lucy Gates Bowen, internationally renowned coloratura soprano, said Brimhall would be "remembered for his power to inspire to worthy achievement, which is about the highest service one human being can do for

another." Helen Candland learned from school "that nature, books, [and] science were sources of delight." However, it was contact with "the rugged, vigorous, variable personality of Dr. Brimhall" which taught her that "a human being may be a joy and a fascination." J.L. Haddock of Massachusetts State College described President Brimhall as "A father to the discouraged, a teacher to the ambitious, a philosopher to the wise and a friend to all." And BYU professor William J. Snow said that "President Brimhall well exemplified Christ's saying, 'He that loseth his life shall find it.' "

Appendices

Appendix 1

1875 Deed of Trust of Brigham Young Academy

This Indenture made the sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-Five, by and between Brigham Young of Salt Lake City, Territory of Utah, party of the first part, and Abraham O. Smoot, William Bringham, Leonard E. Harrington, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Martha J. Coray, Myron Tanner, and Harvey H. Cluff, all of Utah County, in the Territory aforesaid, parties of the second part:

WHEREAS, the said party of the first part is desirous of endowing an institution of learning at Provo City in the County last aforesaid; to be known as the Brigham Young Academy of Provo, and for that purpose has agreed to deed and convey the property hereinafter described to the parties of the second part and their successors, as Trustees however to hold the same for the use and benefit of the said Academy. Now, Therefore, this Indenture Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part, in consideration of the premises and the sum of one dollar to him in hand paid by the said parties of the second part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, has granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents does grant, bargain, and sell unto the said parties of the second part as joint tenants, and not as tenants in common, and to their successors duly appointed, in trust, however, on the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth — the following described real property, situated in Provo City, County and Territory of Utah, and particularly described as follows,

TO WIT: parts of lots two and three and all of lots four and five in block sixty-nine, commencing at the southwest corner of lot two and running thence east sixty feet, thence north twelve rods, thence east one hundred and thirty-eight feet, thence north twelve rods, thence west twelve rods, thence south twenty-four rods to place of beginning, containing in all one hundred and eighty-seven $\frac{7}{11}$ square rods of ground as plotted in Plot A, Provo City Survey.

To have and to hold the said granted and described property with the appurtenances in trust for the use and benefits of the Brigham Young Academy, Situated in Provo City, County and Territory of Utah, subject however to the following conditions and limitations, namely:

The beneficiaries of this Academy shall be members in good standing in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or shall

be the children of such members, and each of the boys who shall take a full course, if his physical ability will permit, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to his taste and capacity; and all pupils shall be instructed in reading, penmanship, orthography, grammar, geography, and mathematics, together with such other branches as are usually taught in an academy of learning; and the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in the Academy.

The said Trustees shall hold their office as such during the will of the party of the first part, his heirs, or assigns, here and in case of the death, resignation, or removal of either or all of said Trustees, then the said party of the first part, his heirs, or assigns shall fill the vacancy so made, and the Trustee or Trustees so appointed shall, on receiving such appointment, be vested with all the rights, title, and authority that were used, had, or enjoyed by his or their predecessors in such trust. But notwithstanding the interest so being transferred the Trustee or Trustees so resigning or being removed, or the legal representative on the death of any Trustee shall, on the request of the party who is appointed to succeed him or them, make, execute, and deliver any and all such deeds as shall be necessary or requisite to vest in his or their successor or successors all title interest or claim in said property held by such resigning, removed, or dead Trustee by virtue hereof.

And the said Trustees shall, within a reasonable time after their appointment and acceptance of this trust, meet and organize as a Board, by electing a President, Secretary, and Treasurer.

They shall then proceed to carry out the objects of this trust, and for that purpose shall have power to make such rules, regulations, and by-laws, as they shall deem proper for the management and control of the property of the institution for the employment of agents and teachers, the regulation of studies for students, therein, and the terms on which they shall be admitted. But all rules, regulations, and by-laws so made by said Trustees shall be subject to the approval of the said party of the first part, his heirs or assigns, and if by him or them condemned shall never be enacted again without his or their express consent.

And the parties of the second part have accepted the within described trust and hereby promise and agree to carry out the terms and conditions thereof.

In witness whereof the said party of the first part has hereunto set

his hand and seal the day and year first above written and the said parties of the second part have each of them signed and sealed these presents on this 22d day of November A.D. 1875.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

George Q. Cannon
George Reynolds
Warren N. Dusenberry
H.C. Rogers
Brigham Young (seal)
A.O. Smoot (seal)
Wm. Bringham (seal)
Leonard E. Harrington (seal)
Wilson H. Dusenberry (seal)
Martha J. Coray (seal)
Myron Tanner (seal)
Harvey H. Cluff (seal)

Appendix 2

1877 Deed of Trust of Brigham Young Academy

This Indenture made the First day of June in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-Seven by and between Brigham Young of Salt Lake City, in the County of Salt Lake, and Territory of Utah, party of the first part, and Abraham O. Smoot, William Bringham, Leonard E. Harrington, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Martha J. Coray, Myron Tanner, and Harvey H. Cluff, all of the County of Utah, in the Territory aforesaid, parties of the second part.

Whereas the said party of the first part being desirous of sustaining an institution of learning at Provo City in the County of Utah and Territory aforesaid known as the Brigham Young Academy, for that purpose hereby agrees to deed and convey the real estate hereinafter described to the parties of the second part and their successors in trust, to hold the same, as Trustees, for the use and benefit of sustaining the said Academy.

Now therefore this Indenture Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part, in consideration of the premises, and the sum of one dollar to him in hand paid by the said parties of the second part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, has granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents does grant, bargain, and sell unto the said parties of the second part, as joint tenants, and not as tenants in common, and to their successors duly appointed in trust, however, on the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth, the following described real property situated in Provo City, in the County and Territory aforesaid, and particularly described as follows: to wit:

Part of Block Twenty-eight (28) commencing at the South east corner of said block, and running thence west sixteen (16) rods, thence north ten (10) rods, thence west eight (8) rods, thence north fourteen (14) rods, thence east twenty-four (24) rods, thence south twenty-four (24) rods to the place of beginning, containing three and one tenth ($3 \frac{1}{10}$) acres as plotted in Plot B, Provo City Survey.

To have and to hold the said granted and described real estate in trust for the use and benefit of sustaining the said Brigham Young Academy, together with all the rents, issues, and profits thereof, but nothing herein contained shall be so construed as empowering, or granting the right to the Trustees of said Academy to sell or dispose of any of the foregoing described real estate without the consent of

the said party of the first part, his heirs or assigns, and subject however to the following condition and limitations, viz:

The beneficiaries of this Academy shall be members, in good standing, in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or shall be children of such members; and the students who shall take a full course shall be taught — their physical ability permitting — some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to their taste and capacity; and all pupils shall be instructed in reading, penmanship, orthography, grammar, geography, and mathematics, together with such other branches as are usually taught in an academy of learning; and the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, shall be the standard text books, and shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in the Academy, and further no book shall be used therein that misrepresents, or speaks lightly of the Divine mission of our Savior, or of the Prophet Joseph Smith, or in any manner advances ideas antagonistic to the principles of the Gospel.

The said Trustees shall hold their office as such during the will of the party of the first part, his heirs or assigns; and in case of the death, resignation, or removal of either or all of said Trustees, then the said party of the first part, his heirs or assigns, shall fill the vacancy so made, and the trustee or Trustees so appointed shall, on receiving such appointment, be vested with all the rights, title, and authority that were used, had, or enjoyed by his or their predecessors in such trust. But notwithstanding the interest so being transferred, the Trustee or Trustees so resigning or being removed, or the legal representative on the death of any Trustee, shall, on the request of the party who is appointed to succeed him or them, make, execute, and deliver any and all such deeds as shall be necessary or requisite to vest in his or their successor or successors all title, interest, or claim in said property held by such resigning, removed, or dead Trustee by virtue hereof.

And it is hereby further provided that all rules, regulations, and by-laws as they shall deem proper for the management and control of the Institution, and the property thereunto belonging, they, the said Trustees shall hold subject to the approval of the said party of the first part, his heirs or assigns, and if by him or them condemned, shall never be enacted again without his or their express consent. And the parties of the second part have accepted the within described trust, and hereby promise and agree to carry out the terms and conditions thereof.

In witness whereof the said party of the first part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written, and the said parties of the second part have each of them signed and sealed these presents on this fifteen day of June A.D. 1877.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered in the Presence of

Geo. Reynolds
Geo. Q. Cannon
Howard Coray
J.E. Booth
Brigham Young (seal)
Abraham O. Smoot (seal)
Wm. Bringhurst (seal)
Leonard E. Harrington (seal)
Wilson H. Dusenberry (seal)
Martha J. Coray (seal)
Myron Tanner (seal)
Harvey H. Cluff (seal)

Appendix 3

1890 Deed of Trust of Brigham Young Academy

This indenture made the eighth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety by and between Geo. Q. Cannon and Brigham Young, trustees under the will of the late Brigham Young, deceased, and Abraham O. Smoot, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Myron Tanner, Harvey H. Cluff, J. D. C. Young, James E. Talmage, and John Q. Cannon, trustees of the Brigham Young Academy of Provo City in Utah Territory, and Lucy D. Young, Zina H. Young, Harriet C. Young, Eliza B. Young, Susan S. Young, Lucy B. Young, Amelia F. Young, N. C. T. Young, Margaret P. Young, Elizabeth Young MacKintosh, Catherine Y. Schneitzer, Amelia Y. Schneitzer, Briant S. Young, Mary J. Young (guardian of Briant S. Young, minor), Richard W. Young, Walter S. Young, Lester R. Y. Junius Young, Eugene J. Young, Clara Y. Aguamonte (guardian of said Lester R. Young, Junius Young, and Eugene J. Young, minors), Walter S. Clawson, Leo H. Clawson, John W. Clawson, Seldon I. Clawson, and Hiram B. Clawson (administrator of the estate of Alice Young Clawson, deceased), Brigham Young, Luna Y. Thatcher, John W. Young, Heber Young, Fannie Y. Thatcher, Ernest I. Young, Tyler Young, Louis Young, Sybella W. Clayton (guardian of Ernest I. Young, Tyler Young, and Louis Young, minors), Shamira Young Rossieter, Arta D. C. Young, Clarisa Y. Spencer, Ella E. Y. Empey, Walter K. Conrad, Winifred Conrad, Hyrum S. Young (guardian of Winifred Conrad, minor), Hyrum S. Young (executor of the last will and testament of Marinda Y. Conrad, deceased), Mary E. Curtall, Marinda Y. Conrad, Willard Young, Mahonri M. Young, Waldemar Young, Winfield Young, Agnes M. Young (executrix of the last will and testament of Mahonri M. Young, deceased, and guardian of Mahonri M. Young, Waldemar Young, and Winfield Young, minors), Hyrum S. Young, Emeline Y. Crosbie, Louisa Y. Ferguson, Lorenzo B. Young, Alonzo Young, Ruth Y. Healy, Adella Y. Harrison, Emily Y. Clawson, Caroline Y. Ceroxall Cannon, Jos. D. C. Young, Miriam Y. Hardy, Josephine Young, Jeanette R. Y. Snell, Nabbie Y. Clawson, Charlotte T. Young, Dora Y. Hagan, Susa Y. Gates, Rhoda M. Y. Wilt, Alfales Young, Brigham Morris Young, Zina Y. Williams Card, Oscar B. Young, Phineas Howe Young, Fanine Van Cott Young Clayton, Elizabeth Y. Ellsworth, Vilate Y. Deeker, Maria Y. Dougall, Willard Young, Phoebe Y. Beatie, Evaline Y. David, and Charles S. Burton, heirs and devisees of the late Brigham Young, deceased, all

parties hereto of the first part; and Abraham O. Smoot, Myron Tanner, Harvey H. Cluff, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Don C. Young, Karl G. Maeser, David John, Thomas R. Cutler, Geo. D. Snell, Hyrum S. Young, Susa Y. Gates, and George Halliday, parties hereto of the second part.

Whereas: the late Brigham Young in his life time, to wit: on the sixteenth day of October 1875, by deed of that date, conveyed certain premises and property to Abraham O. Smoot, William Bringhurst, Leonard E. Harrington, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Martha J. Coray, Myron Tanner, and Harvey H. Cluff for the use and benefit of what is therein designated the Brigham Young Academy of Provo, and for the purpose of establishing an Academy of Learning at the said Provo City, which, said Property so conveyed and particularly described in said deed and hereinafter set forth; and Whereas on the first day of June A. D. 1877 said Brigham Young, by deed of that date, conveyed to Abraham O. Smoot, William Bringhurst, Leonard E. Harrington, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Martha J. Coray, Myron Tanner, and Harvey H. Cluff, certain property for the use and benefit of the said Brigham Young Academy for the purpose of establishing a place of learning at said City of Provo, which said property so conveyed is particularly described in the deed last aforesaid and hereinafter set forth; and

Whereas, it was among other things provided in said deed that said parties of the second part should receive and take the premises and property aforesaid as joint tenants, and not as tenants in common, and the same should be held by them and their successors in trust to establish an Academy of Learning in which should be taught the common branches of an English education, including the principles inculcated in the old and new testaments, the Book of Mormon, the book of Doctrine and Covenants, which said deeds and the intention of said grantor in regard to said Academy are hereby referred to, and made a part of this indenture, and

Whereas, by the terms of said deeds, the founder of said Academy reserved the right with himself or his heirs or assigns upon the death, resignation, or removal of either or all of said parties of the said part in said deeds named, to fill the vacancy thus named. It was further provided in said deeds that such new appointees, when so named, should be vested with all the rights, title, and authority that are had, used, or enjoyed by his or their predecessors in such trust, and

Whereas, heretofore, to wit: since the deeds last aforesaid, three of said parties of the second part, to the deeds herein recited, have

died, namely; William Bringham, Leonard E. Harrington, and Martha J. Coray; and the said heirs of the late Brigham Young, acting in that capacity and in harmony with the deeds aforesaid, have appointed certain persons to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death in board of Trustees of said Academy, to wit, the said J. D. C. Young, Jas. E. Talmage, and John Q. Cannon, in which trust capacity said new trustees are now acting: and

Whereas, the said Brigham Young departed this life in August 1877, leaving a last will and testament, by the terms whereof he appointed George Q. Cannon and Brigham Young aforesaid and Albert Carrington and the survivors of them as the executors and trustees under his said will: and by said will, he devised and bequeathed all of his property of every nature and kind to said trustees for certain purposes and said Albert Carrington has since deceased: and Whereas said Academy of learning is now being conducted in the city of Provo aforesaid, but that owing to the death of the said grantor at the early period the same took place, the manifest intentions of said grantor were never fully carried out, and the said Academy has thereby been left without proper means for accomplishing the end he intended, and

Whereas, by the terms of said deeds to said trustees, the visitational power of said Academy is left in the heirs and devisees of said grantor and the said deeds are deficient in many regards to guarantee the future stability of said Academy, in harmony with the intention of its founder, for this reason many persons who have desired to aid and assist said Academy of Learning upon examination of said deeds have declined on the grounds aforesaid; and

Whereas, it is the desire of the parties of the first part, each and all of them, to so completely establish said Academy of Learning on a permanent footing that there can be no question as to its future stability with full power of the parties of the second part to carry out the trusts and duties imposed.

Now therefore this indenture witnesseth: That the parties of the first part in consideration of the premises and sum of one dollar to them in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and of the premises and agreement of the parties hereto of the second to fully carry out the trusts and duties herein imposed and for the special purpose of more completely establishing said Academy on a permanent footing in harmony with the intention of said founder, have granted, bargained, and sold and by these presents do grant, bargain, and sell unto the parties of the second part, and their heirs, successors, and assigns forever, as joint tenants, and not as tenants in

common, in trust nevertheless for the use and benefit of the parties hereinafter named to the properties hereinafter designated and the trusts hereinafter imposed, the premises and property above referred to, and particularly described as follows, to wit, Part of lots two and three and all of lots four and five in Block sixty-nine Plat "A," Provo City survey, commencing at the south west corner of said lot two, and running thence east sixty feet: thence north twelve rods: thence east one hundred and thirty-eight feet: thence north twelve rods: thence west twelve rods: thence south twenty-four rods to the place of beginning situate in Provo City, County and Territory of Utah.

Also part of Block twenty-eight, plat "B," Provo City survey commencing at the southeast corner of said block, and running thence west sixteen rods, thence north ten rods, thence west eight rods, thence north fourteen rods, thence east twenty-four rods, thence south twenty-four rods to the place of beginning, situate in Provo City, County and Territory of Utah.

Together with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, to have and to hold the above and foregoing described premises and property unto the parties of the second part, as joint tenants aforesaid, and to their successors duly appointed, upon the trust, hereby imposed, and their assigns forever, for the use and benefit of the children of the members in good standing of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with which to establish a school of learning, in which shall be taught the principles of the Gospel in harmony with the teachings as laid down by the founder of that certain religion known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and his duly appointed or elected successors in office and in harmony with said power and for the purpose of carrying it fully into effect, the said parties of the second part hereby fully endow with:

First. The authority to establish and make such rules, regulations, terms and conditions, and by-laws, as shall be proper and necessary for the purpose aforesaid.

Second. To build, buy, or otherwise acquire a suitable house or houses for said Academy of learning and to obtain by donation, deed, or bequest or otherwise all real or personal property that any person or persons, or bodies corporate shall confer upon them.

Third. In case of a vacancy in their number in said Board by death or otherwise, by majority vote of the survivors to appoint a successor or successors to fill such vacancy.

Fifth. To buy property necessary and convenient for the purpose of the Academy, and if necessary, in their discretion, to sell all or any of

said pieces of land above described, or any that may be hereafter acquired from any source, or in any manner, and to use the proceeds of such sale in the furtherance of the plan of establishing said Academy of Learning.

Sixth. In case of the decease or resignation of any one of said parties of the second part, his interest in the premises and property hereby conveyed shall at once cease, determine, and be void, and the title or interest so held by such dying or resigning trustee shall immediately vest in the survivor or continuing trustees, and on the appointment of any new trustee the interest so held by such deceased or outgoing trustee shall immediately vest in such new appointees: but notwithstanding this provision the continuing trustees shall make such other and further assurances and conveyances of such new appointees as shall be deemed wise and well by counsel learned in the law.

Seventh. Said parties of the second part, for the purpose of fully and completely establishing said institution of learning on a permanent footing, in their discretion, shall have the authority and power to create and organize a corporation under the laws of Utah Territory, or to join in any other corporation already organized and to deed and to convey to such corporation the premises and property as shall hereafter be acquired by said Trustees parties hereof of the second part: but no change in the management of said concern shall ever give such new grantee any authority to materially change the objects of the original grant, or to limit the scope of the grantors intentions: nor shall the name of said institution be changed, and there shall always be at least three of the heirs of said late Brigham Young, named and act as trustees for said institution whether they act under this deed, or said institution becomes incorporated as herein provided for.

Eighth. In case of sale of either of said pieces of property hereby conveyed, or any that may be hereafter acquired, by the said parties of the second part, they are hereby empowered to make deed or deeds in fee simple, to the grantee or grantees, and any deed made by them, or by their duly appointed successor in office, shall be deemed valid and binding, and no party thereto or their heirs or assigns shall ever have the right to question or inquire into the validity of said deed, or the reason of the making thereof.

Ninth. In case it shall at any time happen that for any cause the said Academy shall be deemed incapable to hold or enjoy the use and benefit of the property by said grantor hereby conveyed, or in case it shall be claimed that said beneficiary is too indefinite and cannot be legally ascertained, this deed or grant for that case shall not be

deemed invalid, inoperative, or void but the equitable as well as the legal title upon the decision of any Court of competent jurisdiction to the effect that said beneficiary cannot hold or enjoy the benefit of said premises and property shall at once vest in the said parties of the second part, and their successors and assigns forever: and with power and authority to use the same and apply the proceeds thereof for the purposes named and given in the deeds aforesaid to carry out the intention of said founder so far as is consistent with the acknowledged laws of the land.

The parties of the second part are to be [members of] and remain in good standing in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and if any one or either of them ceases to be such, or in case either one of said Trustees shall be or become opposed to the carrying out of the objects of this grant, or shall become an obstructionist in the premises and of this fact, the majority shall be the sole judges: then and in that event, said obstructing or incompetent trustee shall cease to act, and his place may be declared vacant by a two-thirds majority vote of said Board, but no action shall be taken, except at a meeting only called and held for that purpose, at which there must be at least three-fourths of the Board present, of which all have had at least twenty days notice in writing, or such shorter notice as each shall accept as adequate, from the presiding officer.

At any and all meetings of the said parties: hereto of the second part, properly called and held, the power hereby conferred upon said trustees may be performed and exercised by a vote of the majority present, except in the case of the sale, or conveyance of any of the real estate hereby conveyed or hereafter acquired by said parties the second part for the use aforesaid and in such case no deed or conveyance shall be valid unless at least ten of said trustees or their successors in office shall sign and duly execute the deed or deeds transferring the same.

In Witness Whereof said parties of the first part have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Elizabeth Y. Ellsworth

Signed, sealed and delivered,
in the presence of

K. L. Rogers
Notary Public

SEAL

Appendix 4

The Articles of Incorporation of Brigham Young Academy

A meeting of the trustees of the Brigham Young Academy, having been duly called, was held on the 18th of July A.D. 1896, at Provo City, Utah County, State of Utah. Brigham Young was elected chairman and Wilson H. Dusenberry was elected secretary of the meeting.

The chairman stated as the object of the meeting that the Trustees of the Brigham Young Academy desired to become a body corporate under and in accordance with the laws of the State of Utah and had met for the purpose of incorporating under said laws. The roll of the members of said Association or Board of Trustees was called, and it appeared that there was a majority of all the members present.

The following resolutions were presented and read, and, after due consideration, were unanimously adopted, to wit:

Whereas, Brigham Young in his lifetime conveyed to Abraham O. Smoot and others certain property hereinafter described, for the purpose of establishing and founding an Academy to be known as the Brigham Young Academy, in which certain persons as beneficiaries should be taught some branch of mechanism, and instructed in branches usually taught in an Academy of learning; and the doctrines as inculcated by the Old and New Testament, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants; and,

Whereas, by the terms of said conveyance said Abraham O. Smoot and others as trustees accepted said property and the trust by said conveyance created, and so far as was within their power carried out said trust in letter and in spirit; and,

Whereas, by said conveyance said Brigham Young reserved the right to himself, his heir, or assigns to fill any vacancies occurring in the Board of Trustees; and,

Whereas, the said Brigham Young died in August 1877 leaving surviving him heirs and executors, all of whom by deed conveyed to the then qualified and acting trustees all of their interest and property in and to all of the estate both real and personal belonging to said Brigham Young Academy, both that which was conveyed by said Brigham Young in his lifetime and that subsequently acquired by the Trustees for the maintenance of said Academy, and relinquished all right and authority to appoint trustees for the carrying out of the trust by said Brigham Young created, and to exercise a visitatorial power over said Academy, and also authorizing said

trustees in order to fully and completely establish said institution of learning upon a permanent footing, to create and organize a corporation under the laws of Utah and to convey to such corporation all of the property held by said trustees under said trust with these reservations, however, that no change in the said Academy should give to the grantor any authority to materially change the objects of the original grant, or to limit the scope of the grantor's intention, and that there should always be at least three of the heirs of said Brigham Young named and who should act as trustees or directors for said institution; and,

Whereas, said trustees have carried on said institution until the present time according to the intentions of said grantor Brigham Young, but in so doing have been compelled to and have incurred a large indebtedness, to wit, about Eighty thousand dollars, in the construction of buildings and in the equipment of the same with educational apparatus for the purpose of teaching and instructing the beneficiaries of said trust; and,

Whereas, said institution is financially embarrassed and has no means whatever save and except the property conveyed by the said Brigham Young, and that acquired by said trustees, together with the buildings and improvements thereon and the school furniture and equipments thereunto appertaining, with which to meet said indebtedness; and,

Whereas, the payment of said indebtedness [is] demanded, and suits have been brought against said trustees and are threatened in order to recover said indebtedness which will result in the entire loss of said property so that said trust so established by said Brigham Young as aforesaid will fail and all of said property be wholly lost and destroyed; and,

Whereas, said trustees are unable to meet said indebtedness or to further continue or maintain said academy; and,

Whereas, the beneficiaries of said trust are the children of the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and said trustees and beneficiaries and said members of said church are desirous of seeing said trust carried out; and to that end the members of said church through its constituted authorities, to wit, the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, consisting of the President of said church and his two counselors are willing to assume said indebtedness and to discharge the same and to carry out, according to the letter and the spirit, said trust by said Brigham Young created, and to provide the necessary means to

support and maintain said institution of learning; provided, however, that [a] corporation shall be formed and said trustees shall convey the property by them held under the terms of said trust to said corporation; and said members of said church, including the beneficiaries of said trust, shall have the right to elect the directors or trustees of said corporation, recognizing, however, that there shall always be at least three of the heirs of said Brigham Young as trustees, or directors of said corporation: and,

Whereas, said present trustees in whom is vested the title to said property, and upon whom devolves the carrying out of said trust, realize that the proposition made by said beneficiaries and the members of said Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is to the best interests of said institution, and that an acceptance of the same is the only means by which said institution can be maintained, and said trust carried out:

Now therefore be it resolved:

First: That in order to carry out the trust reposed in them and by said Brigham Young created, and pursuant to the laws of Utah entitled "An Act Compiling and Amending the Laws Relating to Private Corporations," passed March 13th, 1884, together with the acts amendatory thereof and supplemented thereto, we the undersigned (all of whom are residents of Utah), who are all of the present trustees of said Brigham Young Academy, and who are acting under the trust by said Brigham Young created, and also under the deed aforesaid, by said heirs and executors of Brigham Young, pursuant to the power in us vested, being desirous of associating ourselves together and forming a corporation for the purpose of establishing and conducting a college of learning in which pecuniary profit is not the object, and in order to carry out the trust aforesaid, and for those purposes do now proceed to take the necessary steps for the incorporation of said institution of learning, known as the Brigham Young Academy.

Second: That the meeting now proceeded to elect a Board of twelve Trustees or Directors for the proposed corporation, to hold office until the 6th day of April, A.D. 1897, and until their successors are elected and qualified in the manner to be provided in the Articles of Incorporation.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of twelve Trustees and Directors for the proposed corporation. The following named persons were severally duly elected such Trustees and Directors, namely:

Brigham Young,	Salt Lake City, Utah
George Q. Cannon,	Salt Lake City, Utah
Myron Tanner,	Provo City, Utah
Harvey H. Cluff,	Provo City, Utah
Wilson H. Dusenberry,	Provo City, Utah
Karl G. Maeser,	Provo City, Utah
David John,	Provo City, Utah
Susa Young Gates,	Provo City, Utah
Reed Smoot,	Provo City, Utah
Thomas R. Cutler,	Lehi, Utah
George D. Snell,	Spanish Fork, Utah
Joseph Don Carlos Young,	Salt Lake City, Utah

The following resolutions were presented and read, and, after due consideration, adopted, to wit: be it resolved

First: That we now endorse, attach, and sign our names to the Articles of Incorporation of the Brigham Young Academy of Provo City, Utah County, State of Utah, which are now presented to us for our signatures.

Second: That as soon as said corporation is perfected we request and direct all Trustees for said Academy and Trustees holding the legal title to any of the property belonging to the said Academy to convey and vest in said corporation the legal title to said property and to all property held by them in trust for the use and benefit of said Academy.

The following Agreement and Articles for the Incorporation of the Brigham Young Academy of Provo City, Utah County, State of Utah, were read and unanimously adopted, and signed in said meeting, by the members of said Board of Trustees present, who constituted all the members of said Board, and the signatures of such members are attached thereto, and the said Articles are in the words and figures following, to wit:

Article I

The name of the institution shall be the Brigham Young Academy.

Article II

The names and places of residence of the incorporators are as follows, to wit:

Brigham Young,	Salt Lake City, Utah
George Q. Cannon,	Salt Lake City, Utah
Myron Tanner,	Provo City, Utah
Harvey H. Cluff,	Provo City, Utah
Wilson H. Dusenberry,	Provo City, Utah
Karl G. Maeser,	Provo City, Utah
David John,	Provo City, Utah
Susa Young Gates,	Provo City, Utah
Reed Smoot,	Provo City, Utah
Thomas R. Cutler,	Lehi, Utah
George D. Snell,	Spanish Fork, Utah
Joseph Don Carlos Young,	Salt Lake City, Utah

Article III

The time and duration of this corporation shall be for fifty years, and for as much greater period as the law will permit, unless discontinued as below provided.

Article IV

The object of this corporation is to establish and maintain a college or school of learning in which the youth of both sexes who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are to be instructed; provided, however, that the trustees of this institution may allow under certain rules and regulations children not belonging to said Church to attend; but this provision shall not be deemed obligatory upon them, nor shall children of other religious denominations other than the above named have an inherent or vested right to enjoy the [benefits] of this trust. And the general [course] of education in the principles to be taught shall be as set forth in the rules, regulations, and by-laws made by the Board of Directors from time to time hereafter, provided that in addition to the usual education given in an institution of like character the Old and New Testament, the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in such college; and the students therein, physical ability permitting, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to their taste and capacity.

Article V

The place of this institution's general business shall be Provo City, Utah County, Utah.

Article VI

This corporation shall have no capital stock; and it is hereby declared that it is organized as an academy or college of learning and not for pecuniary profit.

Article VII

The number and kind of officers of this institution shall be as follows, to wit: There shall be a board of twelve directors from whom shall be selected a President and Vice President. There shall also be a Secretary and Treasurer. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be united in the same person; and said officer may be [illegible] and person or persons selected by the Board of Directors. The qualifications of directors, and secretary and treasurer will be that they shall be members in good standing in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Article VIII

The term of office of the officers of this institution shall be for three years. The first election under these articles shall be held on the 6th day of April 1897, and tri-ennially thereafter. Inasmuch as this corporation is supported and sustained by the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in good standing, acting by and through the First Presidency of said Church; and that they have acquired its property by the payment of the debts incurred in the execution of the trust set forth in the preamble to these articles, and are therefore the only persons interested in said property and in this corporation and in the carrying out of the purposes for which it was organized,

It is therefore declared that said members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, acting collective at their General Conference, or through their representative, to wit: the First Presidency of said Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, are the persons regarded as members or stockholders of said corporation although no stock shall be issued, and as the source of authority and power for the selection of the officers of this corporation; and said members of said Church [under direction of] the First Presidency thereof, shall on the 6th day of April, beginning with the year 1897 and tri-ennially thereafter, elect the directors of this corporation, provided if said 6th day of April shall fall on Sunday, the said election shall be held on the preceding day.

Immediately after said election said members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or said Presidency shall notify the persons so elected of their election, and immediately thereafter the said persons so elected as directors shall meet and from their number select a President and Vice President, and said officers shall act for the ensuing three years and until their successors are elected and qualified. No persons shall be elected or shall remain as a director or officer of this corporation who is not a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in good and honorable standing, or who is in any way opposed to this corporation or the principles herein declared necessary to be taught therein.

Article IX

The Directors shall have power to fill any vacancy occasioned by death, resignation, or otherwise in the directorate or in any other department of this corporation, provided that no person shall be elected by said directors who is not a member in good standing as aforesaid.

Article X

Any director or other officer of this Corporation may be removed for conduct*prejudicial to the interest of the corporation by two-thirds of the directors at a meeting called and held for that purpose, at which such officer shall have due notice to appear.

Article XI

Any officer in this institution may resign by giving to the directors at least thirty days' notice in writing of such intention, or such shorter notice as the directors shall accept as adequate.

Article XII

There shall always be among the directors of this institution at least three of the descendants of the late Brigham Young, the founder thereof; and if any vacancy in the Board leaves a less number than three the vacancy shall be filled by selecting one of the descendants of said Brigham Young.

Article XIII

The private property of the directors or other officers of this institution shall not be liable for its obligations.

Article XIV

The directors of this institution or a majority of them at a meeting called for that purpose, of which all shall have had due and legal notice, shall have power to make all necessary rules, regulations, and by-laws for the proper government, continuance, and maintenance of this institution. They shall also have power, by [a two-] third[s] vote, to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of any property belonging to this institution, whether the same be real or personal, and use the proceeds of such sale for the use and benefit of the institution in such manner as they shall deem prudent and best. They shall have power to locate its college buildings and superintend the structure thereof, change or modify them in such a way as shall be best suited for the interest of the college; and to do all things necessary and proper for the welfare and government of said institution and the officers thereof.

Article XV

The following named persons shall be the officers of this institution until the 6th day of April, 1897, and until their successors are elected and qualified, to wit: Brigham Young, Director and President; George Q. Cannon, Director; Joseph Don Carlos Young, Director; Wilson H. Dusenberry, Director, Secretary and Treasurer; Myron Tanner, Director; David John, Director and Vice President; Thomas R. Cutler, Director; George D. Snell, Director; Susa Y. Gates, Director; Reed Smoot, Director; Karl G. Maeser, Director; Harvey H. Cluff, Director.

Article XVI

The property of this corporation, the legal title of which is now vested in the undersigned who are trustees under [deed] by said Brigham Young, and his heirs and executors, is as follows, to wit: Part of lots two, three, four, and five, block sixty-nine, Plat A; an undivided one-half interest in the north half of lots seven and eight, block one hundred and twelve, Plat A; Part of block twenty-eight in Plat B; the north half of lots five and six in block twenty-nine, Plat C; all of block twenty-eight, Plat C; lots fourteen and fifteen, block one, Center Street Subdivision; all of said property being situated in Provo City, Utah County, Utah; together with the buildings, improvements, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging; and also the furniture and other school equipments in said building,

including fixtures, books, and other personal property; all of which said property the undersigned trustees as aforesaid hereby covenant and agree to convey by proper deed and other instruments in writing as soon as said corporation shall have been organized.

Article XVII

These articles may be amended at any time in such manner as may be prescribed by law.

In witness whereof, the said parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals this 18 day of July A.D. 1896.

Brigham Young (Seal)
Harvey H. Cluff (Seal)
Myron Tanner (Seal)
[Joseph Don Carlos Young] (Seal)
Wilson H. Dusenberry (Seal)
Karl G. Maeser (Seal)
David John (Seal)
Susa Young Gates (Seal)
Reed Smoot (Seal)
Thomas R. Cutler (Seal)
George D. Snell (Seal)
George Q. Cannon (Seal)

The minutes of said meeting were then read and approved, and on motion the meeting adjourned.

Appendix 5
Minutes of 23 October 1903
Meeting to Change the Name of Brigham Young Academy

The members or stockholders of the corporation known as Brigham Young Academy met at the office of Jesse Knight, Esq., Knight Building, this city at nine oclock A. M. on Friday, the 23rd day of October, 1903, for the purpose of considering the advisability of amending the Articles of Incorporation or agreement of said corporation, pursuant to a notice given by the President of such corporation in the *Provo Daily Enquirer*, a newspaper printed in the English language and having a general circulation in the county of Utah where the said corporation has its place of general business in this state, for more than twenty-one days prior to such meeting, of which notice the following is a copy:

‘Notice of Members or Stockholders Meeting’
Provo City, Utah County, Utah, Sept. 30, 1903

A meeting of the members or stockholders of the Brigham Young Academy is hereby called to meet at the office of Jesse Knight, Esq., Knight Building, Provo City, Utah, at nine oclock A. M., on Friday, the 23rd day of October, 1903, for the purpose of considering the advisability of amending the Articles of Incorporation or agreement of the said corporation as follows:

Article I to read as follows: “**Article I.** The name of this institution shall be the Brigham Young University.”

Article VI to read as follows: “**Article VI.** This corporation shall have no capital stock; and it is hereby declared that it is organized as an institution of learning and not for pecuniary profit.”

Articles VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, and XV by substituting for the words “Director,” “Directors,” and “Directorate” wherever they may severally appear in the said articles, the words, respectively, “Trustee,” “Trustees,” or “Board of Trustees.”

Jos. F. Smith,
President

There were present at the said meeting the following named stockholders or members: Joseph F. Smith, the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in person, and by proxy in writing (which is duly filed in the office of this corporation), John

R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund, Counselors in the First Presidency of said Church; also the following named members of the Board of Directors of the said Brigham Young Academy: David John, W. H. Dusenberry, Reed Smoot, John Henry Smith, Jesse Knight, L. Holbrook, and Oscar B. Young.

The following is a copy of the proxy of Presidents Winder and Lund, herein before referred to:

“Know All Men by These Presents that we, the undersigned, John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund, first and second Counselors, respectively, in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and by virtue of our said offices, members and stockholders in the corporation known as Brigham Young Academy, do, and each of us does hereby designate and appoint Joseph F. Smith, President of the said Church, our true and lawful attorney; for us, and in our names and stead, to vote as our proxy at the special meeting of the members or stockholders of the said corporation duly called to be held at the City of Provo, Utah, on the 23rd day of October, 1903, and for us, and each of us, as such proxy, to vote in favor of amending the Articles of Incorporation or agreement of the said corporation as proposed in the notice of the said stockholders meeting published in the *Provo Daily Enquirer*.

Witness Our Hands, at Salt Lake City, Utah, this 22nd day of October, 1903.”

John R. Winder
Anthon H. Lund

Witness:

R. W. Young

President Joseph F. Smith presided at the meeting. W. H. Dusenberry officiated as secretary.

Prayer was offered by Director L. Holbrook.

The secretary read the call for the meeting.

The following resolution was proposed, and upon the unanimous vote of Presidents Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, with the approval and consent of all of the Directors present at the meeting, was adopted: RESOLVED, that the Articles of Incorporation or Agreement of the Brigham Young Academy be amended, as follows:

Article I, as follows: “**Article I.** The name of this institution shall be the Brigham Young University.”

Article VI, as follows: "**Article VI.** This corporation shall have no capital stock, and it is hereby declared that it is organized as an institution of learning and not for pecuniary profit."

Articles VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, by substituting for the words "Director," "Directors," and "Directorate" wherever they may severally appear in the said articles the words, respectively, "Trustee," "Trustees," or "Board of Trustees."

The minutes of this meeting were then read and on motions were adopted.

There being no further business before the meeting, it then adjourned sine die.

Benediction by Jesse Knight.

Wilson H. Dusenberry
Secretary

Appendix 6
Protestant and Catholic Schools Founded in Utah
around the Time of the
Establishment of Brigham Young Academy

School	City	Date
St. Mark's Day School	Salt Lake City	1867
School of the Good Shepherd	Ogden	1870
Methodist School	Salt Lake City	1870
Presbyterian School	Alta	1873
Saint John's School	Logan	1873
Saint Paul's School	Plain City	1873
St. John's School	Layton	1873
St. Mary's of the Wasatch	Salt Lake City	1875
Westminster Academy	Salt Lake City	1875
Wasatch Academy	Salt Lake City	1875
Mt. Pleasant Academy	Mt. Pleasant	1875
Catholic School	Ogden	1877
Springville Schools	Springville	1877
Payson Schools	Payson	1877
Sacred Heart Academy	Ogden	1878
Logan Schools	Logan	1878
Manti Schools	Manti	1878
Nephi Schools	Nephi	1878
Congregational Church Academy	Salt Lake City	1878
St. George School	St. George	1880
Parowan School	Parowan	1880
Toquerville Schools	Toquerville	1881
Kaysville Schools	Kaysville	1881
St. Mark's College	Salt Lake City	1881

New West Education
Commission

Salt Lake City

1881-82

Lehi

Kamas

Farmington

Hooper

Bountiful

Sandy

Heber

Park City

Huntsville

St. Joseph's School

Ogden

1882

All Hallows College

Salt Lake City

1886

Appendix 7

Utah Territorial Governors

Name	Date of Commission	Tenure	Appointed by
Brigham Young	28 Sep. 1850	1850-57	Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce
Alfred Cumming	11 Jul. 1857	1857-61	James Buchanan
Francis Wooton (Acting)		1861	
Frank Fuller (Acting)		1861	
John Dawson	3 Oct. 1861	1861	Abraham Lincoln
Frank Fuller (Acting)		1861-62	
Stephen S. Harding	31 Mar. 1862	1862-63	Abraham Lincoln
James Duane Doty	2 June 1863	1863-65	Abraham Lincoln
Charles Durkee	17 Jul. 1865	1865-69	Andrew Johnson
Edwin Higgins (Acting)		1869	
S. A. Mann (Acting)		1869-70	
J. Wilson Shaffer	17 Jan. 1870	1870	Ulysses S. Grant
Vernon H. Vaughan	1 Nov. 1870	1870-72	Ulysses S. Grant
George L. Woods	2 Feb. 1872	1872-75	Ulysses S. Grant
Samuel B. Axtell	2 Feb. 1875	1875	Ulysses S. Grant
George Emery	1 Jul. 1875	1875-79	Ulysses S. Grant
Eli H. Murray	27 Jan. 1880	1880-85	Rutherford B. Hayes
			Chester A. Arthur
Caleb W. West	2 Apr. 1886	1886-89	Grover Cleveland
Arthur L. Thomas	6 May 1889	1889-93	Benjamin Harrison
Caleb W. West	14 Apr. 1893	1893-96	Grover Cleveland

Appendix 8

The Struggle for Educational and Political Control of Utah Territory

During the years Karl G. Maeser was principal of Brigham Young Academy, important social, religious, and political forces interacted to influence the institutional development of Brigham Young Academy and other LDS Church schools.¹ Non-Mormons established denominational schools in direct competition with Mormon schools, and government officials laid the foundation for a territorial public school system. Against this backdrop of religious strife and political conflict, Brigham Young Academy developed as one of the leading LDS Church schools.

Crusade to Develop Protestant Schools

As Mormons struggled to build their kingdom of God in Utah Territory, other denominations worked just as hard to persuade Latter-day Saints to bring their religious beliefs and practices into conformity with non-Mormon churches. Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, who presided over the Northern Rocky Mountain Region of the Episcopal Church, expressed the prevailing attitude of the Protestant churches toward the Mormons when he said that "Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints we cannot admit to our altar. It is true they have been baptized, . . . but they admit so much pernicious error into their doctrine that it would not be fit for an evangelical Church to affiliate with them."² Mormons responded

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1. Editor's Note: Whereas most of the information in this history is derived from primary sources, much of the information in this appendix comes from *Ensign to the Nations* by Russell Rich, James R. Clark's doctoral dissertation entitled "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah," and other books. The authors of these works did the original research on this subject, and the editor has confidence in their work.
 2. Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), p. 153. The *Utah Review*, a magazine edited by the Reverend Theophelus Hilton, reported a meeting held in Buffalo, New York, on 27 May 1881 at which the following definition of Mormonism was presented:

Mormonism is made up of twenty parts. Take eight parts diabolism, three parts of animalism from the Mohammedan system, one part bigotry from old Judaism, four parts cunning and treachery from Jesuitism, two parts Thugism from India, and

that Jesus Christ had authorized and commanded Joseph Smith and his associates to found a new church which was to be named "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (D&C 115:3-4). This Church had the restored gospel of Jesus Christ organized as it was in the days of the Savior. Mormons asserted that the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches operated without authority from God.

With a powerful conviction of the errors of Mormonism, many Protestant sects (especially the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists) began a nationwide crusade to arouse public sentiment against the Mormons and to establish denominational schools in Utah, where Mormon children could be redeemed from the errors of their parents. In 1877 the Presbyterian Church General Assembly assigned a special National Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions to raise funds for the establishment of Presbyterian schools in Utah. This Women's Committee launched a national funding campaign which remained active for forty years.

Federal officials supported the non-Mormon school program in Utah. As early as 1867, Secretary of State William H. Seward asserted that "the church and schools undertaken by the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City would do more to solve the Mormon problems than the Army and Congress of the United States combined."³ In a Presidential Message to Congress delivered in 1884, Chester A. Arthur complimented

the many Christian denominations that have established colleges, schools and churches in Salt Lake City and many other parts of the Territory. Among these are churches and schools maintained by the Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Catholics and perhaps others, all or nearly all of which has been accomplished within the last fifteen years. . . . The denominational schools now number 79 with an

two parts Arnoldism [from Matthew Arnold], and then shake the mixture over the fires of animal passion and throw in the forms and ceremonies of the Christian religion and you will have the system in its true component elements. (Dwyer, p. 184)

3. Among the works which give a more detailed account of this bitter conflict over religious beliefs and the movement to organize denominational schools are Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*; Thomas Edgar Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1962); and C. Merrill Huff, "Two School Systems in Conflict, 1867-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly*.

average daily attendance of nearly 6,000 pupils, many of whom are the children of Mormon parents. These schools are distributed as follows: Episcopalian, 5; Methodist, 10; Congregational, 26; Presbyterian, 35; Baptist, 2; Catholic, 1.⁴

The Protestants believed that if they could educate Mormon children they could wean them from the faith of their fathers. Bishop Tuttle felt that adult Mormons “were fanatics, and so beyond the reach of our influence; or else were apostates, and so, grossly deceived once, were unwilling to listen again to any claims of the supernatural. But the plastic minds and wills of the young we could hope to win to better views and mould in nobler ways.”⁵

Concerned with the increasing popularity of Protestant schools, Mormon leaders counseled LDS parents to send their children, whenever possible, to schools with Mormon teachers. Not all did so, believing that the superior education offered by some Protestant schools more than compensated for the risk some Mormon parents felt was involved in having their children taught by non-Mormons. Besides, as Tuttle pointed out, many Mormon parents were confident that they could look after their children “in the home and on Sundays, and can see to it that they do not embrace the heresies of the mission schools.”⁶

Organization of Protestant Schools

The Episcopalians founded St. Marks Grammar School in Salt Lake City in 1867. The Methodists founded the Salt Lake Seminary in 1870. From the start, these schools obtained considerable Mormon attendance. However, the Presbyterians were the most active organizers of non-Mormon schools. The Reverend Duncan J. McMillan, head of Presbyterian schools in Utah, planned to establish academies at Logan in Cache Valley, at Springville in Utah Valley, at Mt. Pleasant in Sanpete Valley, at Richfield in Sevier Valley, and at Parowan in Iron County. He also planned to found a collegiate institute at Salt Lake City. The Academy at Logan would have eleven “feeder” schools throughout Cache Valley and Southern Idaho. The Academy at Springville would have feeder schools in American Fork, Pleasant Grove, Spanish Fork, Payson, Benjamin, and Nephi.

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4. Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: LDS Dept. of Education, 1939), pp. 138-39.
 5. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1906), p. 363.
 6. Tuttle, p. 374.

The feeder schools for the Academy at Mt. Pleasant would be located in Fairview, Moroni, Spring City, Ephraim, and Manti.

In order to counter the influence of popular denominational schools, Mormon leaders improved the LDS Church school system. As Bancroft said, the non-Mormon schools "received so much patronage that it became necessary for the Mormons to bestir themselves in the matter and there was afterward more efficiency in the school system, private institutions being also founded by the Saints, among them the academy in Provo and the Brigham Young College at Logan."⁷ In spite of Mormon efforts to provide Church schools for LDS children, the 1887-88 report of the Utah Commission listed only ten Mormon academies in Utah. According to the same report, there were ninety non-Mormon denominational schools in the territory, most of which were elementary schools.⁸

The 1870s and 1880s were the years of greatest growth among non-Mormon denominational schools in Utah. From 1878 to 1883 the Congregationalists founded five academies in the territory. During the period from 1871 to 1880 the Presbyterians founded six. With the seven institutions established by the Presbyterians from 1870 to 1890, a total of eighteen academies were organized by non-Mormon sects in Utah during those twenty years. In the same two decades the Congregationalists founded thirty-eight elementary schools in Utah; the Presbyterians, forty-three; the Methodists, thirty-nine; the Baptists, four; and the Episcopalians, one.

Most of the Mormon stake academies were founded after Protestant academies began to decline: at least twenty-two Mormon academies were organized between the years 1875 and 1911.⁹ Al-

7. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: History Co., 1889), pp. 707-8.

8. The Utah Commission's *Annual Report* issued 25 September 1888 listed the following non-Mormon denominational schools in Utah:

Denomination	Schools	Teachers	Pupils
Presbyterian	33	61	1,925
Congregational	22	28	1,883
Methodist	20	61	1,649
Catholic	7	50	1,000
Episcopal	5	22	800
Baptist	2	3	140
Swedish Lutheran	1	3	45
Total	90	228	7,442

9. Bennion (*Mormonism and Education*, p. 164) provides the following list of academies established by the LDS Church:

though the Presidency of the Mormon Church urged all stakes to establish academies, certain stakes could not afford them, and many stakes did not have enough students to justify separate academies.

Early Catholic Schools in Utah

During the Maeser Administration the Roman Catholics also founded certain academies in Utah. In 1875 St. Mary's Academy for girls was founded in Salt Lake City. In 1886 All Hallows College for Boys was organized in Salt Lake City. In 1878 Sacred Heart Academy for girls was founded in Ogden. In recent years these schools have been discontinued. Roman Catholic elementary schools were also established during these years in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Park City, and Eureka. With the exception of St. Joseph's in Ogden, these schools have also been discontinued. The Catholic schools were founded to serve members of the Roman Catholic Church rather than to convert Mormon children, but they, like Mormon and Protestant schools, were open to members of other denominations. The Catholic schools were supported by tuition rather than extensive donations from the East. According to Robert

Academy	Location	Date of Opening
Brigham Young Academy	Provo, Utah	1875
Brigham Young College	Logan, Utah	1877
Latter-day Saints College	Salt Lake City, Utah	1886
Fielding Academy	Paris, Idaho	1887
Ricks Academy	Rexburg, Idaho	1888
Snow Academy	Ephraim, Utah	1888
Oneida Academy	Preston, Idaho	1888
Snowflake Academy	Snowflake, Arizona	1888
St. Johns Academy	St. Johns, Arizona	1888
Uintah Academy	Vernal, Utah	1888
Cassia Academy	Oakley, Idaho	1889
Weber Academy	Ogden, Utah	1889
Emery Academy	Castle Dale, Utah	1890
Gila Academy	Thatcher, Arizona	1891
Juarez Academy	Colonia Juarez, Mexico	1897
Murdock Academy	Beaver, Utah	1898
San Luis Academy	Sanford, Colorado	1905
Summit Academy	Coalville, Utah	1906
Big Horn Academy	Cowley, Wyoming	1909
Millard Academy	Hinckley, Utah	1910
Knight Academy	Raymond, Canada	1910
Dixie Academy	St. George, Utah	1911

J. Dwyer, Lawrence Scanlan, who was the first Catholic bishop in Utah, decided he would live among the Mormons "on terms of cordiality, avoiding intimacy on the one hand, and antagonism on the other. . . . He came to Utah too late to know Brigham Young in the latter's prime, but years later, at the unveiling of the famous monument of the great colonizer and leader, he referred with no little feeling to Young's personal benevolence toward him and his fellow Catholics in the days when the [Catholic] Church was struggling to obtain a foothold in Utah."¹⁰

Funds Raised for Denominational Schools

From the scattered records available, it is evident that the Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and to a lesser extent the Episcopalians and the Baptists, poured money in relatively large sums into the campaign to establish "Christian" schools throughout Utah Territory.¹¹ Dwyer estimated that the New West Education Commission, sponsored by the Congregationalist Church, expended a total of \$400,000 for education in Utah during one ten-year period.¹² Utah Territorial Governor Arthur L. Thomas reported to the United States Secretary of the Interior in 1892 that the following expenditures had been made for education in Utah by non-Mormon churches up to June 1892: Catholic Church, \$563,000; Congregational Church, \$421,169; Presbyterian Church, \$404,150; Methodist Church, \$361,100; Episcopal Church, \$22,000; Lutheran Church, \$16,500; Baptist Church, \$13,000; for a total of nearly \$2,000,000.¹³

10. Quoted by James R. Clark in "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah" (Ph. D. diss., Utah State University, 1958), p. 145. According to Clark, "Perhaps the most widely cited example of amicable Mormon and Catholic relations in Utah, used by both Catholic and Mormon historians, is an incident that occurred in St. George in 1879. Details of the incident vary with historians, but all seem to agree that it was the very friendly relations between the two groups that allowed Father Scanlan's celebration of High Mass in the Mormon St. George Tabernacle with the Mormon choir rendering Peter's Mass in Latin" (p. 146).

11. Dwyer, p. 165.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

13. James R. Clark is of the opinion that these figures may be for the period of 1882 to 1892 since considerably more money was spent by these denominations on education in Utah before that time.

Enrollment of Mormon Students by Non-Mormon Schools

To the extent that Protestant schools were successful in enrolling Mormon students, they of course decreased the attendance at Brigham Young Academy and other Mormon schools. Although the individual denominational schools were usually quite small, the aggregate enrollment was of great concern to Mormon leaders. As many as fifty percent of the students in these denominational schools came from families who had both parents on the membership rolls of the Mormon Church, and an additional twenty percent of the students came from families where one parent was LDS. According to the 1887 report of the Presbyterian School in St. George, Utah, twelve of the fifteen students enrolled came from families where both parents were members of the Mormon Church. The other three pupils had one Mormon parent. Even more alarming to LDS leaders, ten of the fifteen students were enrolled in the Presbyterian Sabbath School.¹⁴ Miss P. J. Hart reported that of the forty students enrolled in the Presbyterian School in Kaysville in 1887, thirty-four were from homes where one or both parents were Mormons.¹⁵

Protestant denominational schools often competed with each other. Mary Clemens, who operated a Presbyterian School in Hyrum, Utah, wrote, "There was some complaint about paying \$0.75 per term tuition, and since they are expecting the Methodists to open a free school here, I reduced the tuition to 50 cts. per term."¹⁶ Low tuition made Protestant schools attractive to Mormon students. Clyde Wayne Hansen noted that by 1890 "over 67 percent of all the young people attending the secondary schools [in Utah] were going to schools sponsored by religious faiths other than Latter-day Saints." About "28 percent attended Mormon schools." The remaining five percent were enrolled in public schools.¹⁷

Though Protestant educators successfully recruited many Mormon students for their schools, the schools themselves were generally unsuccessful in their attempt to change the religious beliefs of Mormon students. As Dwyer said,

The evangelical crusade, in the light of its master ambition to

14. Clark, p. 151.

15. Ibid., p. 154.

16. Ibid.

17. Clyde Wayne Hansen, "A History of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools in Utah" (M. A. thesis, University of Utah, 1953), pp. 5-6.

conquer Mormonism as a religious faith and as a political power, must be written down as a failure. The gains in denominational membership as noted in the census reports indicate merely a growth proportionate to the general increase of the population of the Territory (Utah Historical Society Records Survey, *Inventory of Church Archives of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1940), pp. 49-51). Conversions from Mormonism to the sects played very little part in the religious history of Utah during the period.¹⁸

M. Lynn Bennion quoted Colonel Hammond, organizer of the New West Education Commission, as stating that "The major result of the Utah Christian schools appears to be that we are training Mormons to serve as Sunday School teachers, young folk leaders and bishoprics in the Mormon church. They take our proffered education, but not our religion, and use it to strengthen their own institutions."

Closing of Protestant Schools

As Protestant educators recognized that their attempts to change the faith of LDS children were largely unsuccessful and as public schools gained more prominence in Utah Territory, there was a rapid decline in the growth of non-Mormon denominational schools in Utah. Dwyer noted that

The year 1889 would appear to have marked the climax of the denominational school system. The Gentile sects then were operating ninety-three schools in Utah with 7,961 pupils enrolled (*Report of the Governor*, 1889, p. 16). Three years later the number of such schools had dropped to eighty-one (*Report*, 1892, p. 16. "Denominational schools still exist in different parts of the Territory, though I have been informed that there is a steady decrease in the number of those attending them. I believe it is the intention of nearly all the denominational schools to gradually withdraw from competition with the public schools"). Partly as a result of decreased income as an effect of the Panic of 1893, most of these free schools in the smaller Mormon communities were forced to close their doors.¹⁹

According to Bennion, the Protestant mission school enrollment fell from sixty-seven percent of all secondary school enrollment in Utah in 1890 to 28.5 percent in 1895.²⁰

18. Dwyer, pp. 188-89.

19. Ibid., p. 174.

20. Bennion, p. 176.

Only a few of the Protestant schools in Utah have survived to this day. The Wasatch Academy in Mount Pleasant, founded and maintained by the Presbyterian Church, has carried on through the years and has a very good reputation. St. Marks High School in Salt Lake City, founded by the Episcopalians, is also a school with deserved recognition. Westminster College in Salt Lake City, established by the Presbyterian Church in the same year as the founding of Brigham Young Academy, now has an enrollment of around nine hundred. It has now thrown off its cloak of allegiance to that church and has become nondenominational. Mormon students still comprise the largest single religious group attending Westminster College.²¹

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21. Editor's Note: The above information was obtained by the editor in a September 1974 conference with Dr. Manford Shaw, president of Westminster College. Protestant Church leaders have observed through the years how their own educational institutions have gradually become secularized. The national chairman of the Lutheran Schools gave an address in the 1950s on the "Changing Loyalty and Decline of Protestant Institutions of Higher Learning in the United States" in which he stated that there are five stages in the apostasy and secularization of a church school: "The first stage consists of their having been founded by . . . [being] completely loyal to, and [being] governed by the Mother Church which launched them. The second stage consists of their having separate independent Boards of Trustees. The third stage consists of their throwing off the yoke of their founding church and becoming nondenominational church colleges. The fourth stage consists of their abandoning church connections and becoming 'independent colleges with a Christian emphasis.' The fifth stage consists of their abandoning their Christian emphasis and becoming independent colleges — too damn independent" (from the papers of Ernest L. Wilkinson, who was present). Harvard, Yale, Chicago, and Stanford are examples of schools that were founded by churches but which have since become completely independent.

Mormon students have various reasons for attending Westminster College. Some prefer the private school because it is smaller. Others prefer a school where religious and secular subjects go hand in hand. Even though the school is not Mormon-oriented, many LDS students would rather attend Westminster than state institutions of higher learning where the teaching of religion is forbidden.

Latter-day Saints attempt to provide religious training for Mormon students by operating institutes of religion which are maintained separate from but adjacent to institutions of higher learning not operated by the Church. At the present time there are fourteen of these institutes in the state of Utah. Approximately 20,000 students, or fifty-eight percent of the 34,000 Mormon students at colleges in

Contribution of Protestant Schools

Although the Protestant academies failed in their primary purpose of converting Mormon students, many of the men and women who operated the mission schools for various Protestant denominations were competent and dedicated teachers who contributed substantially to the success of education in early Utah. As M. Lynn Bennion pointed out, "No fair student can fail to recognize the contribution the various protestant churches made to the educational progress of Utah. Their teachers were for the most part well-trained and devoted to their work."²² In his master's thesis, Clyde Wayne Hansen characterized the non-Mormon denominational school movement in Utah as a

history of faithful, unselfish service on the part of many of the teachers and religious leaders and of misguided zeal and misunderstanding which was produced by that zeal on the part of others. It is a history of conflict which most often has taken the form of bitter propaganda from the pulpit and press concerning the Mormons and their system. Often the defense put up by the Mormons was just as bitter and overzealous. It is a history of the generous philanthropy of hundreds of eastern church people who gave hundreds of thousand of dollars to further the cause of Christian education in the land of the Mormons. It is the history of brave and devoted young women and men who came fresh from their college training in the East to a wilderness in the West in order to teach young pupils in the villages and hamlets of Utah. It is a history of the sacrifices made by the pioneers themselves to provide education for their children with no outside help and of the measure of success which they achieved despite seemingly unsurmountable difficulties.

While Protestant denominational schools certainly did not teach

Utah not owned by the LDS Church, enrolled in LDS Institute classes during the 1973-74 school year (Joe J. Christensen, assistant superintendent of LDS Church schools, to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 September 1974, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives). Even though these institutes give classes in religion and carry on related religious and social activities, they cannot provide the full spiritual and religious programs afforded by LDS Church schools. The late President David O. McKay, who was chairman of the General Church Board of Education, asserted many times that the overall religious atmosphere and programs of the Church schools were even more important than formal classes in religious subjects.

22. Bennion, p. 136.

Mormon theology, many of them did maintain standards of conduct very similar to those of LDS Church academies. Thus, the New Jersey Academy in Logan forbade the use of tobacco by its students. New Jersey Academy students were also expected to attend church services and to deport themselves as Christians worthy of representing their school.

The Struggle for Political Control of Utah Territory

In addition to the educational rivalry between Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah between 1867 and the early 1890s, the same period was marked by intense political strife that deeply influenced the development of education in the territory. Because of their profound belief that religious teachings were fundamental to a well-rounded education, the Mormons were dedicated to their Church educational system. They were willing to let other religious denominations maintain their own schools or attend Mormon schools. However, since about ninety percent of the people in Utah Territory were Mormons, LDS Church leaders were opposed to compulsory public schools because maintaining public schools would constitute a double burden — the burden of supporting Church schools with tithing funds and the burden of maintaining public schools through taxation.

Influence and Election of the Territorial Superintendent

The position of territorial superintendent of schools was important to Mormon educators because an unfriendly school superintendent could make it difficult for private schools like Brigham Young Academy to continue their programs. As long as the territorial superintendent favored Church academies, the members of the LDS Church avoided the establishment of expensive public schools. Following a bill passed by the territorial legislature in 1876, John Taylor, senior apostle of the LDS Church, was elected territorial superintendent of schools in 1877. He was reelected in 1879. When John Taylor became President of the LDS Church, he could no longer devote sufficient time to the office of territorial superintendent of schools. He resigned from the educational position in 1881, and the people of Utah Territory voted to replace him with his secretary, L. John Nuttall.

In his April 1882 report on the status of education in Utah, Superintendent Nuttall used extracts from a work published by an

unidentified "ex-United States official in New York City." The latter had used figures from the 1870 national census to compare Utah with "cultured" Massachusetts and the "enlightened" District of Columbia on several items. According to the report, Utah had a higher rate of school attendance, a higher percentage of literacy, fewer paupers and convicts, fewer insane and idiotic, and more churches and printing establishments than the other two areas.²³ The same federal official who gave Utah and Mormons this favorable educational rating noted that even though non-Mormons constituted

only ten percent of the population, yet from this small minority are taken the incumbents of nearly every position of influence and emolument. They have the Governor, with absolute veto power, Secretary, Judges, Marshals, Prosecuting Attorneys, Land Registrar, Recorder, Surveyor General, Clerks of the Courts, Commissioners, principal Post office Mail Contractors, Postal Agents, Revenue Assessors and Collectors, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Indian Agencies, Indian Supplies, Army Contractors, express, railroad and telegraph lines, the associated press agency, half the jurors in law, but at least three-fourths and always the foreman in practice, in fact, every position not elective.²⁴

As long as Utah remained a federal territory the non-Mormon minority controlled every important political body except the territorial legislature, and the governor had absolute veto power over that assembly. Thus, the Mormons saw the achievement of statehood as the only way to insure majority rule in Utah. Constitutional conventions were called several times in the 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. A constitution drafted in 1882 said that "the Legislature shall provide a uniform system of public schools, provided that no sectarian or denominational doctrines shall be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by public funds." This proposed state constitution was approved by Utah voters by a margin of 27,814 to 498, and Congress was memorialized for admission of the State of Utah with this constitution. However, Congress again refused Utah's petition for statehood.

In 1883 L. John Nuttall was reelected superintendent of schools, but in 1884 Governor Eli H. Murray, claiming he had the right to appoint the superintendent of schools, placed William M. Peery.

23. *Journal of Discourses*, 23:57.

24. *Ibid.*, 23:58.

prominent gentile mine owner, in that position. Thus the territory had two superintendents of schools. In 1884 the attorney general of the United States ruled that under the Edmunds Act of 1882, which placed the government of Utah in the hands of a Utah Commission of five (all non-Mormons) appointed by the president of the United States, the residents of Utah did not have the right to elect their own superintendent. This validated the appointment of Peery. He was replaced in 1886 by the appointment of Parley L. Williams, an apostate Mormon, as territorial superintendent. There was not another Mormon superintendent of schools until Utah was finally admitted to the Union in 1896.

Establishment of an LDS Church School System

By 1886 Mormon leaders recognized that the Church would be unable to control the public schools in Utah and that it would be necessary for them to set up a complete school system of their own. On 6 April 1886 the First Presidency issued a statement which said it was the duty of LDS Church members

to keep their children away from the influence of the sophisms of infidelity and the vagaries of the sects. Let them, though it may possibly be at some pecuniary sacrifice, establish schools taught by those of our faith, where, being free from the trammels of State aid, they can unhesitatingly teach the doctrines of true religion combined with the various branches of general education.

In this connection permit us to urge upon the Saints in all the Stakes of Zion the necessity of caring well for the education of our youth. If we are to be a powerful people in the near future, wielding potent influence for good among the people of the earth, we must prepare ourselves for those responsibilities.²⁵

The Council of the Twelve Apostles, which presided over the Church after the death of President John Taylor in 1887, issued a communication to the Church in October 1887 in which, among other matters, they commended the Church schools at Provo, Logan, Salt Lake City, Beaver, and Fillmore for the work they were doing and regretted that such institutions were so limited in number.

25. *An Epistle to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1886).

By 1887 the Church was willing to make a transitional accommodation to the establishment of a free public school system. Accordingly, in that year the territorial legislature passed a bill which provided that

All schools organized under the direction of Trustees in the respective school districts of this Territory shall be known in law by the name and title of District Schools and all other schools shall be known as private schools. All schools both district and private shall be entitled to a just and equitable apportionment of any public school funds arising from the United States or from legislative enactments of the Territory.²⁶

This bill, including the clause providing for public assistance of private schools, was vetoed by non-Mormon Governor Caleb West. Brigham Young Academy would have profited by this law, but the law would have given even more assistance to the numerous non-Mormon denominational schools in Utah. Defeat of the education bill made it all the more imperative that the Mormons, despite additional cost, establish their own school system. In June 1888 Wilford Woodruff, new President of the Church, sent a letter to all stake presidents in which he stated, "We feel that the time has arrived when the proper education of our children should be taken in hand by us as a people. Religious training is practically excluded from the District Schools. . . . There should be one Stake Academy established in each Stake as soon as practicable."²⁷

At the same time the Church also established a Church Board of Education to supervise its growing educational system. Wilford Woodruff became chairman of the Church Board, and Karl G. Maeser was appointed superintendent of Church schools and was commissioned to build up the system.

Establishment of a Public School System

Having decided to establish a Church school system, Mormon leaders also agreed to support the creation of a free public school system. In January 1890, Clarence E. Allen, a prominent member of the Congregational Church and chairman of the territorial

26. Utah Commission, *Annual Report*, 1887-88, Minute Book C, 15 September 1888.

27. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons, 1892), 3:685.

legislature's standing committee on education, who later became a United States Representative, introduced a "bill to establish a Free Public School System in certain cities of the Territory of Utah." The bill was passed on 18 February 1890 by a vote of twenty-one to one.²⁸ The governor signed the bill, and Utah had a free public school law, written by a non-Mormon and passed by a predominantly Mormon legislature. Passage of this bill resulted in an abrupt change in the entire educational climate in Utah. Besides establishing a permanent system of tax-supported schools in the territory, it meant that denominational doctrines could not be taught in Utah's public schools. It also meant that Brigham Young Academy and other private schools could not count on receiving financial assistance from the territorial legislature. Furthermore, the bill required all Utah citizens to be taxed to support public schools.

On 11 March 1890 the governor and legislative assembly memorialized Congress for funds to operate these free public schools. On March 13 the legislative assembly passed a compulsory attendance law which provided that "every parent, guardian or other person having control of any child between 10 and 14 years of age, shall be required to send such child to a public, district, or private school in the district in which he resides, at least 16 weeks in each school year."²⁹ Though these public school measures meant that Brigham Young Academy had to compete with public schools for students, they also guaranteed that the Academy could continue its program of religious instruction as long as it also met territorial standards of instruction in secular fields.

On 29 October 1890 the First Presidency took formal action to establish a program that would insure religious training for all LDS students. The First Presidency asserted that "the training which our youth receive in the District schools" did not "increase their feelings of devotion to God and love for his cause, for, as is well-known, all teachings of a religious character are rigorously excluded from the studies permitted in these institutions." Church schools had been established to "counteract the tendencies that grow out of a Godless education, . . . but while these accomplish great good, the sphere of their usefulness does not cover the entire field. There are many places where Church Schools cannot, at present, be established."

28. See 1890 *House Journal* of the Legislative Assembly of Utah, p. 178. Representative E. P. Ferry of Park City cast the one negative vote.

29. *Laws of the Territory of Utah Passed at the Twenty-Ninth Session* of the Utah Legislative Assembly, published 13 March 1890 in Salt Lake City.

Therefore, the First Presidency suggested “that in every ward where a Church School is not established, that some brother or sister . . . well adapted for a responsible position . . . be called . . . to take charge of a school wherein the First Principles of the Gospel, Church History and kindred subjects shall be taught. This school to meet for a short time each afternoon after the close of the district school, or for a longer time on Saturday only.”³⁰ Thus began the LDS religion class program.

Legislation Against Plural Marriage

During the prolonged controversy over control of Utah schools, the critics of the Mormons initiated and pursued legislation in the national Congress and in the territories of Idaho and Arizona to outlaw plural marriage. Indeed, from 1860 to 1890 no less than fifteen bills relating to plural marriage were introduced in the United States Congress.³¹ Many of the bills went much further than

30. James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:196-97.

31. Congressman Morrill introduced a bill in the spring of 1860 “intended to punish the crimes of polygamy, or bigamy” (*Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, second session, vol. 32, pt. 4, p. 385). It did not pass that Congress, but a bill to the same effect was introduced and enacted. Known as the Anti-Bigamy Bill, it contained no provisions for its own enforcement. President Lincoln made no attempt to enforce the bill, though non-Mormon judges in Utah did. One of these judges threatened to arrest and prosecute Brigham Young. The latter, of his own accord, appeared in court and made himself available for court proceedings. Another non-Mormon judge, however, released him on bond, and later the grand jury refused to indict him. The Wade Bill, introduced in 1866 (*Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, first session, vol. 36, pt. 4, p. 3750), would have practically destroyed self-government in Utah. The Cragin Bill, introduced 13 December 1867 (*Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, first session, vol. 38, pt. 1, p. 13), would have abolished the right to trial by jury. The Ashley Bill, introduced in 1869 (*Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, third session, vol. 40, pt. 1, p. 363), called for the dismemberment of the Territory of Utah by giving large slices of it to Colorado, Wyoming, and Nevada. The Cullom Bill, introduced in 1870 (*Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, second session, vol. 42, pt. 2, p. 1009) would have required the trustee-in-trust of the Church to make an annual financial report to the governor of Utah. The Frelinghuysen and Voorhees Bills were introduced in 1872 (*Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress, third session, vol. 46, pt. 2, p. 1133; *Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress, second session, vol. 45, pt. 3, p. 2073) to provide federal control of Utah courts and elections. The Blair Bill, introduced in 1862 (*Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress,

stopping polygamy. Some legislative measures like the Cragin Bill, which would have denied polygamists the right to trial by jury, threatened to trespass against the basic civil rights of many LDS Church members.³² Other legislation, like the Ashley Bill of 1869

second session, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 1096-1100), would have legalized all marriages in Utah and would have dismissed all prosecution against alleged polygamists, but the bill received no support. The Logan Bill (*Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress, third session, vol. 46, pt. 1, p. 661) was a rehash of the Voorhees Bill. The Merritt Bill, introduced on 3 February 1873 (*Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress, third session, vol. 46, pt. 2, p. 1059), was similar to the Cullom Bill. The Poland Bill (*Congressional Globe*, 43rd Congress, first session, vol. 2, pt. 5, pp. 4466-67), requested by President Ulysses S. Grant, was introduced on 2 June 1874 and became law. This bill deprived the probate courts of Utah of all criminal, civil, and chancery jurisdiction. In 1882 Congress passed the Edmunds Act (*Supplement to the Revised Statutes of the United States*, 2d ed., 1874-91 [Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891] pp. 331-33), which defined polygamy as a crime, denied the right to hold office to anyone living in polygamy, closed all Utah election offices, and gave the supervision of Utah elections to a commission of five to be appointed by the president.

Finally, in February 1887 Congress passed the severe Edmunds-Tucker Act (*Supplement to the Revised Statutes of the United States*, 2nd ed., 1874-91 [Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1891], pp. 568-74). President Grover Cleveland neither approved nor vetoed the Edmunds-Tucker Act. He held it for ten days, and it became law on 3 March 1887 without his signature. Among other things, the act made polygamy a crime; the enforcement of the law was given to the attorney general of the territory with very liberal rules for such enforcement; the laws of Utah which recognized the right of polygamous children to inherit property were nullified; the attorney general was required to institute proceedings to seize the property of the Church and the Perpetual Emigration Fund (a fund to financially assist Mormon converts to emigrate to Utah) and transfer it to the secretary of the interior; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was disincorporated; woman suffrage was abolished; all persons convicted of practicing polygamy were disfranchised; the office of territorial superintendent of schools was transferred to a commissioner of schools to be appointed by the supreme court of the territory; and all sectarian instruction in common schools was forbidden.

See also Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases" (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1964); and Ray J. Davis, "The Polygamous Prelude," *American Journal of Legal History* 6 (January 1962):1-27; Russell Rich, *Ensign to the Nations* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), pp. 366-91.

32. Introduced 7 March 1867 as Senate Bill 24 (*Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, first session, vol. 38, pt. 1, p. 13); reintroduced 6 December

which gave large portions of the Territory of Utah to Colorado, Wyoming, and Nevada, was intended to lessen the political influence of Mormon leaders.³³

The Morrill Act of 1862 (also known as the Anti-Bigamy Act) was the first bill to prohibit the practice of plural marriage. By 1876 both Church leaders and government officials were anxious to test the constitutionality of this bill. It was therefore arranged that George Reynolds, one of the secretaries to the First Presidency, was indicted and prosecuted for having married a second wife. He was convicted by the local court, whereupon he appealed to the Supreme Court of Utah Territory, which affirmed the conviction. He then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where he argued that the Morrill Act was unconstitutional because it deprived him of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution which states that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Reynolds argued that since polygamy was one of his religious beliefs, its practice was merely "the free exercise" of his religion. However, the Supreme Court reasoned that although "Congress was deprived of full legislative power over mere opinion," it was "left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive to good order." The Supreme Court therefore held that the First Amendment did not permit Reynolds to practice polygamy, and his conviction was upheld.³⁴

1869 as Senate Bill 286 (*Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, second session, vol. 42, pt. 1, p. 3).

33. The Ashley Bill was introduced on 14 January 1869 (*Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, third session, vol. 40, pt. 1, p. 363).

34. *Reynolds v. U. S.*, 98 U. S. 145. The case of *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U. S. 205, decided in 1971, demonstrated that if the Reynolds case on plural marriage were to come before the Supreme Court today either a different decision would be reached or the court would be required to abandon its theory that there is a distinction between "belief" and "action." In the Yoder case, the Supreme Court upheld by a unanimous decision the right of the Amish people to take their children out of high school. In a concurring opinion, Justice Douglas stated, "The Court rightly rejects the notion that actions, even though religiously grounded, are always outside the protection of the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment. In so ruling, the Court departs from the teaching of *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U. S. 145, 164, where it was said concerning the reach of the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment, 'Congress was deprived of all legislative power over mere opinion, but was left free

In 1882 Congress passed the Edmunds Act, which again defined polygamy as a crime. It also denied polygamists the right to hold office and gave the governor of Utah the right to appoint all officeholders in the territory. The governor quickly appointed 172 new officers in the territorial government, and the incident became known among the Mormons as the "office grab."

When other legislation against the Mormons seemed to be ineffective, Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887. This law reaffirmed that polygamy was a crime, authorized the United States Attorney General to institute proceedings to seize the property of the Mormon Church, disfranchised all who practiced polygamy, and nullified the territorial law which gave women in Utah the right to vote. On 18 May 1890 the Supreme Court of the United States, by a vote of six to three, held pertinent provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Act to be constitutional.³⁵ Using the twin political issues of plural marriage and alleged Mormon union of Church and state, the non-Mormon minority in Utah had thus aroused enough support in Utah and in the nation to secure passage of national legislation which the Supreme Court had pronounced constitutional and which made it impossible for Mormons to retain political control of the territory.

The Manifesto of 1890

As Russell Rich explained in *Ensign to the Nations*, with nearly 1,300 men and women having been sentenced [as polygamists], with all Latter-day Saints in Idaho having been

to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order." In that case it was conceded that polygamy was a part of the religion of the Mormons. Yet the Court said, "It matters not that his belief [in polygamy] was a part of his professed religion; it was still belief, and belief only." *Id.*, at 167.

Action which the Court deemed to be antisocial could be punished even though it was grounded on deeply held and sincere religious convictions. What we do today, at least in this respect, opens the way to give organized religion a broader base than it has ever enjoyed; and it even promises that in time *Reynolds* will be overruled. (406 U. S. 205, p. 247)

The Yoder case is mentioned here to make it plain that Mormon leaders had meritorious constitutional basis for their defense of plural marriage.

35. *Late Corporation of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States*, 136 U. S. 1.

disfranchised [through Idaho legislation]; with the Church having been disincorporated and her real and personal property confiscated; with all polygamists and all women in Utah having been disfranchised; with the rights of local and self-government in Utah suspended (even to the privilege of operating their schools); with pressure arising for the government to disfranchise all Mormons in territories; with prospects for the future that the personal property of every Latter-day Saints might be confiscated; with the United States Supreme Court having declared the Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862, the Idaho Test Oath, and the main parts of the Edmunds-Tucker Law as constitutional, President Wilford Woodruff felt the time had come when it could be said that the members of the Church had gone forth with all diligence to perform the commands of the Lord, and the Lord would no longer require them to practice plural marriage.³⁶

Instead, the Lord would expect them to obey another of the fundamental beliefs of the Church, which was that of "obeying, honoring and sustaining the law" (Article 12 of the Articles of Faith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). Accordingly, on 24 September 1890, four months after the Supreme Court held provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Act to be constitutional and one month before the First Presidency took formal action on the establishment of the Church school system, President Wilford Woodruff officially announced that the Church would abide by the decision of the United States Supreme Court. His declaration, which became known as the "Polygamy Manifesto," stated in part:

Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church over which I preside to have them do likewise.

There is nothing in my teachings to the Church or in those of my associates, during the time specified [since the decision of the Supreme Court], which can be reasonably construed to inculcate or encourage polygamy; and when any Elder of the Church has used language which appeared to convey any such teaching, he has been promptly reproved. And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.

36. Rich, p. 385.

President Woodruff included a copy of the Manifesto in his diary for September 24 with the following comment:

I have arrived at a point in the history of my life as the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints where I am under the necessity of acting for the temporal salvation of the Church. The United States government has taken a stand and passed laws to destroy the Latter-day Saints on the subject of polygamy, or patriarchal order of marriage; and after praying to the Lord and feeling inspired, I have issued the . . . proclamation which is sustained by my counselors and the twelve apostles.³⁷

The Manifesto was presented to a general conference of the Church on 6 October 1890. Lorenzo Snow, president of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, asked the Church members assembled to accept the Manifesto. George Q. Cannon, first counselor to President Woodruff, spoke in favor of the motion, saying that he thought the Saints had done everything they could to obey God's law and that they should now obey the law of the land. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the motion, and the Manifesto was accepted as official Church policy.

The Manifesto, which was thereafter followed by members of the Church — except in instances where polygamous marriages had already been consummated and in isolated instances which were frowned upon by the Church and which often resulted in excommunication — removed the main point of conflict between the LDS Church and the United States Government. The sincerity of President Woodruff and the Council of the Twelve Apostles was demonstrated when they released two members of the Quorum of the Twelve who refused to accept the Manifesto. Prosecution and persecution of the Mormons quickly diminished, and the federal government eventually returned property that had been confiscated from the Church. The Utah Commission refused to accept the sincerity of the Manifesto, but Chief Justice Charles Zane, Governor Arthur Thomas, and U. S. District Attorney Charles Varian did. On 19 December 1891 the leaders of the Church petitioned the government for amnesty. President Benjamin Harrison, who at first was skeptical of the Saints' sincerity, gradually changed his attitude. On 4 January 1893 he issued a full pardon to those who had been guilty of unlawful cohabitation prior to 1 November 1890 and who had

37. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:192.

obeyed the law since that time and pledged to do so in the future. This ended a controversy that had engulfed the territory for over forty years.

Religious Training in Secondary Schools

By the early 1890s Mormon leaders were following the policy of leaving elementary education to territorial schools with supplementary religion classes provided by the Church after school hours. However, Church leaders continued to advocate an integrated school curriculum of secular and religious subject matter in schools above the elementary level. The 16 January 1892 issue of the *Deseret News* (the Church newspaper) editorialized that, "in Utah the wisest policy is to encourage and support the public schools for children until they acquire a common education, then let the Church provide a higher education by its own means for advanced scholars, and teach its tenets therein, as other denominations may do in their academies."³⁸ Not only did this policy emphasize the importance of Superintendent Karl G. Maeser's work to establish new Church academies, but it also led to the organization of LDS religious seminaries in conjunction with public schools.

With all of these new educational policies, Brigham Young Academy was caught in a crossfire between an expanding public educational system, the expanding Mormon educational system, and the existing denominational educational systems of other churches. However, establishment of a public system and resolution of the polygamy question brought Brigham Young Academy's role as a Church institution of higher learning more clearly into focus.

Becoming a State

With most of the political differences between the Mormon Church and the United States Government finally resolved, Utah was able to make a successful petition for statehood. On 6 September 1893 Joseph Rawlins, Utah's delegate to Congress from 1893 to statehood in 1896, introduced an enabling act into the United States House of Representatives. Though similar acts had failed in the past, this time the committee on territories submitted a favorable report, and the measure was approved by the House of Representatives. The enabling act was passed by the Senate and signed by

38. "The Public School Question," *Deseret News*, 16 January 1892.

President Grover Cleveland on 16 July 1894.³⁹ In the meantime, on 28 October 1893, what was left of the personal property that had been confiscated from the Church under the Edmunds-Tucker Act was returned. The real property was returned to the Church after statehood in 1896.

From 4 March to 8 May 1895 Utah held a constitutional convention. One of the provisions of the state constitution restored woman suffrage. The enabling act of Congress had contained a requirement that the Utah constitution must prohibit plural marriages; consequently, the convention put the exact wording of the act into the state constitution:

Article III. The following ordinance shall be irrevocable without the consent of the United States and the people of this state: *First.* Perfect toleration of religious sentiment is guaranteed. No inhabitant of this state shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her mode of religious worship; but polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited.

Charles Varian had a clause inserted which provided that the government would leave “undisturbed those relationships that had been formed in the past under the sanction of The Church of the Latter-day Saints.”⁴⁰ This meant that “those plural marriages officially sanctioned by the Church previous to the Manifesto would remain undisturbed, and polygamy would gradually fade away as those who had entered it with the sanction of the Church passed from this life.”⁴¹ The constitution was accepted by the United States Congress, and Utah was admitted to the Union as the forty-fifth state on 4 January 1896.⁴²

39. “Statehood Enabling Act,” introduced 6 September 1893 as H. R. 352, *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress, first session, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 1276. A complete copy of the act may be found in Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, 7 vols (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1909), 4:3700-33.

40. Utah State Constitution, article 24, section 2.

41. Rich, pp. 388-89.

42. “Proclamation of the President of the United States,” 4 January 1896, 29 U. S. Stat. 876.

Appendix 9

Members of the BYU Board of Trustees Appointed before 1920

Name	Years of Service
Abraham O. Smoot	1875-1895
Myron Tanner	1875-1897
Harvey H. Cluff	1875-1897
William Bringham	1875-1883
Leonard E. Harrington	1875-1883
Martha J. Coray	1875-1882
Wilson H. Dusenberry	1875-1921
Joseph Don Carlos Young	1886-1901
John Q. Cannon	1886-1887
James E. Talmage	1886-1891
Karl G. Maeser	1891-1901
David John	1891-1908
Thomas Cutler	1891-1903
George D. Snell	1891-1897
Hyrum S. Young	1891-1895
Susa Young Gates	1891-1933
George Halladay	1891-1893
Reed Smoot	1893-1938
Brigham Young, Jr.	1895-1903
George Q. Cannon	1895-1901
Edward Partridge	1897-1900
Stephen L. Chipman	1897-1938
William H. Seegmiller	1897-1901
Lorenzo Snow	1901
Joseph F. Smith, Sr.	1901-1918
Lafayette Holbrook	1901-1938
Jesse Knight	1901-1921
John Henry Smith	1901-1911
Oscar B. Young	1901-1909
Jonathan L. Page, Jr.	1903-1918
Richard W. Young	1903-1920
Joseph Murdock	1909-1932
Willard Young	1909-1917
Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr.	1912-1972
E. H. Holt	1915-1938
Alonzo Young	1917-1918
Joseph Reece	1918-1938
Zina Young Card	1918-1930
Heber J. Grant	1918-1945

Appendix 10
Presidents of the BYU Board of Trustees
1875 to Present

Name	Years of Service
Abraham O. Smoot	1875-1895
Brigham Young, Jr.	1895-1897
George Q. Cannon	1897-1901
Lorenzo Snow	1901
Joseph F. Smith	1901-1918
Heber J. Grant	1919-1945
George Albert Smith	1945-1951
David O. McKay	1951-1970
Joseph Fielding Smith	1970-1972
Harold B. Lee	1972-1973
Spencer W. Kimball	1973-

Appendix 11

LDS Church School Superintendents and Commissioners, 1888 to Present

Name	Title	Years of Service
Karl G. Maeser	Superintendent	1888-1901
Joseph M. Tanner	Superintendent	1901-1905
Horace H. Cummings	Commissioner	1906-1920
Adam S. Bennion	Superintendent	1920-1928
David O. McKay	Commissioner	1919-1921
Stephen L Richards	Assistant Commissioner	1919-1921
Richard R. Lyman	Assistant Commissioner	1919-1921
John A. Widtsoe	Commissioner	1921-1924
Stephen L Richards	Assistant Commissioner	1921-1924
Richard R. Lyman	Assistant Commissioner	1921-1924
Joseph F. Merrill	Commissioner	1928-1933
John A. Widtsoe	Commissioner	1934-1936
Franklin L. West	Commissioner	1936-1953
Ernest L. Wilkinson	Chancellor, Administrator	1953-1964
Harvey L. Taylor	Commissioner	1964-1971
Neal A. Maxwell	Commissioner	1971-

Appendix 12
Comparative Value of United States Currency since 1913

Year	Value of Dollar
1913	\$1.00
1920	.49
1930	.59
1940	.70
1950	.41
1960	.33
1970	.25
1974 (July)	.20

Appendix 13

Synopsis of Academic Degrees Awarded at BYA and BYU from 1876 to 1919

Certificates and Diplomas Awarded from 1877 to 1893: Various kinds of certificates and diplomas were awarded for work completed at Brigham Young Academy until the early 1890s. The first teachers certificate was issued by the Normal Department in June 1877. Certificates of efficiency were issued for work completed in scientific courses in the 1880s. In 1881 James E. Talmage received a collegiate diploma from the Scientific Department. The department awarded the same degree to Eleazer Evans in 1883 and to Thomas Adams and Edward Snow in 1884. Only the Scientific Department used the term collegiate diploma.

Bachelor of Pedagogy (B.Pd.) and Bachelor of Didactics (D.B.) Degrees, 1891 to 1896: The Bachelor of Pedagogy and Bachelor of Didactics degrees were awarded for completion of work in the Normal Department in preparation for the teaching profession. Beginning in 1891 students needed four years of course work to complete the degree. By 1896 graduation with a B.Pd. or D.B. degree required six years of study. However, not more than two of the six years involved college-level work.

Bachelor of Pedagogy, Bachelor of Science, and Bachelor of Letters and Philosophy Degrees, 1897 to 1906: When the Collegiate Department was reestablished in 1896, Brigham Young Academy began offering the above-named collegiate diplomas.

Bachelor of Arts Degree, 1906: Requiring three years of college work, the Bachelor of Arts degree was authorized to replace the Bachelor of Pedagogy degree in 1906.

Bachelor of Arts Degree, 1913: In 1913 the University announced that for the first time the Bachelor of Arts degree would require four years of college work.

Master's Degree, 1916: In 1916 the Board of Trustees authorized the awarding of a master's degree at BYU requiring not less than forty-five hours of credit beyond the bachelor's degree. In 1919 Walter P. Cottam and Edgar M. Jenson received the first master's degrees awarded by Brigham Young University.¹

1. Synopsis compiled by Hollis J. Scott, BYU Archives. See UA 312, BYU Archives, for a collection of early Brigham Young Academy and Brigham Young University certificates and diplomas.

Appendix 14

Brigham Young Academy — University Faculty Members, 1876 to 1921

This list, compiled from school circulars and catalogs, contains the years of service of all faculty members who began teaching at BYU before 1921:

Name	Subject or Position	Years of Service
Adams, Joseph	Spanish	1902-1903
Adams, Laura Pearl	Oral Expression	1908-1909
Alleman, Ida	Training School	1908-1909
Allen, Robert Eugene	Commerce	1900-1902
Andelin, O. W.	Foreign Languages	1893-1912
Anderson, Andrew B.	Beaver Branch	1902-1903
Anderson, A. E.	Auto Mechanics	1919-1920
Anderson, Annie G.	Training School	1919-1920
Anderson, Cordelia	Training School	1917-1924
Anderson, Ely C.	Sewing	1905-1906
Anderson, Hans	Ironwork	1905-1921
Anderson, Hyrum A.	Commerce	1888-1893
Anderson, J. A.	Training School	1904-1905
Anderson, Robert	Constitutional History	1892-1904
Babcock, Maud M.	Physical Culture	1893-1894
Baldwin, Nathaniel	Physics	1899-1905
Ballard, Zella	Training School	1902-1907
Barker, James L.	Modern Languages	1907-1914
Barlow, Edith	Elocution, Physical Education	1917-1919
Barrett, Elmer C.	Modern Languages	1914-1915
Barrett, Elsie	Drawing	1906-1909
Bartlett, Ashley	Training School	1906-1908
Bean, Ross	Chemistry	1917-1918
Beckstrand, Hyrum	Physical Lab	1897-1898
Beeley, Arthur L.	Accounting	1912-1916
Beeley, Maud M.	English	1909-1913
Bennion, Fred	Physical Education	1908-1910
Biglow, Percival	Auto Mechanics	1919-1943
Billings, Florence	Domestic Science	1912-1914

Billings, Leona	Typing, English	1910-1915
Binzel, Alma L.	Training School	1909-1911
Booth, Alfred L.	Logic, Math, History	1887-1889
Booth, John E.	Math, Bookkeeping, Law	1876-1877
		1884-1913
Borg, Kenneth	Chemistry	1910-1912
Borg, Mabel	Piano	1906-1915
Boyer, Dell D.	Chemistry	1905-1907
Boyle, William H.	Education	1902-1945
Brimhall, Dean R.	Psychology, German	1911-1921
Brimhall, George H.	Theology, Pedagogy,	1897-1932
	Psychology	
Brimhall, Tryphina	Training School	1893-1894
Brown, Amy	Training School	1888-1894
Brown, James L.	Elementary Education	1897-1921
Brown, Syntha	Training School	1905-1906
Burns, Fannie	Domestic Science	1911-1912
Buss, Fred	Geology	1907-1927
Camp, Beatrice	Physical Education,	1911-1914
	Oral Expression	
Campbell, Mazie	Domestic Art	1917-1922
Campbell, Orson D.	Drafting, Woodwork	1902-1915
Cannon, Lillian H.	Pedagogy	1898-1902
Carroll, C. H.	Biology, Medical Director	1909-1915
		1920-1925
Chaffin, Lawrence	Chemistry	1911-1912
Chamberlin, Ralph V.	Biology	1908-1911
Cheney, F.	Beaver Branch	1904-1906
Christensen, Andrew B.	History	1895-1896
		1912-1914
Christensen, Homer	Physical Education	1913-1914
Clark, Herald	Finance	1913-1966
Clift, Frederic	Nursing, Obstetrics	1905-1907
Cluff, Benjamin	Math, Psychology,	1883-1903
	Bookkeeping	
Cluff, D. F.	Training School	1899-1900
Cluff, Harriet	Beaver Branch	1899-1904
Cluff, Walter E.	Training School	1902-1909
Clyde, Nellie	Training School	1905-1907
Colton, Don Byron	Training School	1900-1902

Colton, Warren A.	Physical Education	1902-1906
Combs, Isaiah Jr.	Training School, Drawing	1883-1884
Cope, George M.	Shorthand, Spelling	1900-1905
Cottam, Walter P.	Botany	1916-1931
Court, Thomas S.	Registrar, Deputy Treasurer	1899-1904
Craig, Anna K.	Training School	1893-1898
Cram, Mark	Drawing	1903-1905
Crandall, Agnes	Training School	1919-1921
Crosby, Mae	Beaver Branch	1905-1906
Cummings, B. F.	Languages	1920-1951
Cummings, Julian	Training School	1907-1912
Cutler, Ethel	Home Economics	1920-1923
Davis, Moses C.	English, French	1895-1898
Dixon, Armored	Oral Expression, Physical Education	1915-1918
Dixon, Henry Aldous	Education	1918-1919
Done, Willard	Librarian	1883-1887
Dunford, Leah	Domestic Science	1897-1899
Dunn, J. Harold	Shorthand, Typing	1916-1918
Durham, Alfred M.	Music	1900-1906
Dusenberry, Ada	Millinery	1904-1905
Dusenberry, Ida Smoot	Education	1897-1943
Dusenberry, Warren N.	Principal	1875-1876
Eastmond, Bessie	Art	1910-1933
Eastmond, Elbert H.	Art	1902-1936
Eastmond, Margaret H.	Domestic Science	1914-1919
Edmunds, Leda	Piano	1910-1911 1917-1920
Edwards, Rachael	Training School	1892-1894
Eggertsen, Algje	Physical Education	1918-1923
Eggertsen, Lars E.	Commerce	1885-1886 1891-1901
Eggertsen, S. B.	Accounting	1910-1912
Elliott, Vilate	Domestic Art	1908-1939
Evert, Anna	Domestic Art	1911-1914
Eyring, Carl F.	Physics, Math,	1910-1951
Eyring, Fernanda	Clothing, Domestic Art	1914-1917

Eyring, Fern Chipman	Home Economics, Research Librarian	1911-1912 1913-1914
Fillerup, Charles R.	Assistant Science Teacher	1895-1896
Fitzgerald, May	Training School	1920-1921
Fletcher, Calvin	Art, Manual Training	1905-1906
Fletcher, Harvey, Sr.	Physics, Math, Engineering	1905-1917 1952-
Foote, John	Training School	1881-1884
Foote, Laura	Lady Superintendent	1888-1891
Forsyth, Charles	Training School	1881-1884
Forsythe, Niel Donald	Training School	1903-1906
Frezan, Mary	Training School	1881-1884
Friel, Kate	Training School	1881-1884
Friel, Mary	Training School	1879-1880
Gardner, Ivie	English	1917-1918
Gardner, Lee	Training School	1881-1884
Gardner, Missia	Domestic Art	1909-1912
Gates, Mary E.	Physical Culture	1899-1900
Gates, Susa Young	Domestic Science	1897-1903
Gee, Garda	Training School	1918-1920
Gibbons, Andrew S.	Mathematics	1910-1911 1913-1914
Gilchrist, Olive Y.	Training School	1905-1914
Giles, Henry E.	Music	1885-1896
Gillespie, Annie L.	Library	1906-1937
Glade, Earl J.	Commerce, Penmanship	1902-1905 1909-1915
Glazier, Helen	Millinery	1905-1909
Gourley, Bessie E.	Domestic Art, Art	1910-1933
Gowans, Ephraim	Math	1891-1893
Green, Sadie	Phonetics, Training School	1883-1884
Greenwood, Joshua	Training School	1879-1880
Greenwood, Verne R.	Physical Education	1914-1915
Gudmeinson, Moses S.	Music	1906-1920
Hafen, John	Art	1892-1894
Hale, Abby C.	Training School	1895-1896

Hales, Wayne B.	Physics, Math	1914-
Halliday, Merinda	Training School	1881-1884
Halls, Frank	Ironwork	1912-1913
Hansen, O. K.	Dental Examiner	1914-1915
Hardy, Milton H.	Physiology, Biology	1876-1888
		1891-1896
Hardy, Thethe	Typing	1906-1909
Harmon, Roscoe	Training School	1917-1918
Harrington, Judge		
Daniel H.	Training School	1881-1884
Harris, Dennison Emer	Training School	1881-1884
Harris, Hyrum S.	Training School	1881-1884
Harris, J. Bond	Training School	1907-1908
Harris, Janice	Training School	1881-1884
Harris, Lottie	Domestic Science	1910-1920
Hawkins, Clarence J.	Music	1909-1911
Haws, Olive	Training School	1881-1884
Hayes, John E.	Registrar	1904-1952
Hayes, Murray	Latin, Geology	1911-1913
		1922-1929
Henderson, Martin P.	Biology	1914-1923
Hickman, Josiah E.	Training School, Biology,	1881-1884
	Psychology	1900-1907
Hickman, Laura	English	1910-1911
Higgs, Brigham T., Sr.	Woodwork	1897-1939
Higgs, Brigham T., Jr.	English	1901-1902
		1905-1908
Hinckley, Bryant S.	Commerce	1893-1900
Hinckley, Edwin S.	Geology, Education	1895-1915
Hinckley, Elmer E.	Nursing	1906-1911
Holbrook, Eunice		
Angeline	English	1904-1907
Holdaway, Ray	Music	1908-1910
Holt, Edward H.	Business Education	1893-1938
Homer, William H.	Horticulture	1906-1909
Hone, Myrtle	Typing	1918-1920
Hooks, Elmer	Spanish	1901-1904
Horn, Joseph L.	Woodwork, Math	1895-1903
Houtz, Daniel D.	Law	1891-1894
Howe, Effie	Piano	1902-1906
Huish, Albert E.	Woodwork	1908-1915

Huish, Anna	Arithmetic	1885-1890
Huish, Mamie	Training School	1914-1916
Hyde, Luel	Training School	1881-1884
Isgreen, Emil B.	Training School, Registrar	1888-1893
Iverson, Bessie	Typing	1914-1916
Jackson, Susa	Training School	1879-1884
Jacob, Maude M.	Training School, English	1909-1913
Jacobson, Rufus	Training School	1917-1919
Jarvis, Clarence S.	Engineering, Math, English	1901-1904 1906-1909
Jarvis, Orin W.	Missionary Class	1902-1907
Jensen, Christen	Political Science, History	1908-1951
Jensen, Julia	English	1910-1911 1914-1916
Jensen, Edgar M.	Education	1916-1917 1927-1959
Jensen, J. M.	English	1910-1946
Jensen, Lillian	Training School	1920-1921
Jensen, Peter Joseph	Training School,	1895-1900
Math, Pedagogy		1903
Jepperson, Florence	Music	1905-1952
Jepperson, Marguerite	Piano	1920-1923 1927-1928
Jepperson, Samuel	Music	1905-1906
Johnson, Charles R.	Music	1907-1917
Johnson, Glen	Physiography, Art	1915-1916
Johnson, J. Edward	Business Law, Economics, Sociology	1920-1922
Johnson, John	Orthography	1885-1890
Johnson, Stephen	Training School	1879-1880
Johnson, Theodore	Beaver Branch	1904-1906
Jones, Loren	Spanish	1919-1920
Jones, Louisa W.	Training School	1902-1904
Jones, Thatcher C.	Business Education	1913-1914 1916-1921
Justesen, Osmond	Training School	1903-1904

Kartchner, Floy	Domestic Art	1914-
Keeler, Joseph B.	Theology	1884-1920
Keller, Louise	Training School	1895-1896
Kelley, Alfred L.	Training School	1910-1911
Kellogg, Reed L.	Grammar	1888-1889
Kelsey, Effie	Training School	1913-1918
Kennedy, Ella	Reading	1883
Kerr, Jennie		1920-1921
King, William H.	Law	1879-1880
		1891-1894
Kirkham, Francis	History	1901-1902
		1906-1910
Knight, Inez	Matron	1900-1902
Knight, Jennie B.	Matron,	1897-1898
	Training School	1907-1911
Knudsen, Milton H.	Agriculture	1918-1919
Knudsen, Vern O.	Physics	1914-1915
Kofford, Delia	Training School	1881-1884
Lane, Luella M.	Training School	1901-1902
Laney, George C.	Woodwork	1904-1910
Lara, Ferdinand	Spanish, Drawing	1884-1885
Larsen, Brent F.	Art	1908-1953
Larsen, Floy	Training School	1916-1917
Larsen, Murray	Arithmetic	1885-1890
Larson, Ella	Librarian,	1888-1892
	Training School	1891-1899
		1902-1909
		1923-1941
Larson, Laura	Training School	1879-1884
Larson, Olaf	Arithmetic	1885-1890
Leonard, Alonzo N.	Training School	1900-1902
Lindsey, Elizabeth	Training School	1909-1918
Little, Malcolm	Spanish	1900-1901
Loveridge, Ledru	Technical Department	1886-1887
Luke, George LeRoy	Physics	1908-1911
Lund, Anthon C.	Music, German	1895-1917
Lund, Ida Coombs	Training School	1879-1880
Lyman, Mary C.	Training School	1891-1893
Lyman, Richard R.	Math, Physics	1895-1896

Maeser, Emil B.	German, Mechanical Drawing, Military Tactics	1891-1894
Maeser, Karl G.	Pedagogy	1876-1892
Maeser, Otilie	Training School	1881-1884
Maeser, Reinhard	English	1901-1906 1920-1921
Maeser, Sadie Shepherd	Training School	1879-1884
Maeser, Sherwin	Physics, Math, Chemistry	1908-1909 1916-1919
Mangum, Willis L.	English	1904-1905
Manwaring, Hyrum	English, Training School	1907-1909 1911-1914
Marshall, Milton M.	Physics, Math	1917-1921 1924-1961
Maw, Charles E.	Chemistry	1903-1946
Maw, Marylene	Typing, Shorthand	1918-1920
Maycock, Berry	Commercial Arithmetic	1905-1911
Mendenhall, Irene	Training School	1892-1894
Merril, Lewis A.	Animal Husbandry	1906-1907
Merrill, Amos N.	Education, Agriculture	1905-1945
Miller, Albert	Music	1901-1906
Miller, Elmer	Economics	1908-1909 1923-1953
Miller, John T.	German	1897-1900
Mills, Caddie Daniels	Training School	1876-1884
Miner, Euphrasia Cox	Training School	1881-1884
Moore, Samuel	Normal Department	1879-1880
Morgan, W. E.	History, Government	1916-1917
Morris, Charles	Training School	1879-1880
Mortensen, La Verne	Domestic Art	1907-1909
Mortensen, Martin Jr.	Training School	1916-1917
Murdock, Royal	Bookkeeping	1910-1911
McClellan, Charles E.	English	1913-1914
McClellan, John J.	Music	1898-1899
McDonald, Julia	Matron	1891-1892
McFarlane, Christina Forsyth	Training School	1881-1884
McKendrick, Wilford M.	Librarian, Math, Geography	1885-1899

McKenzie, David	Bible	1893-1900
McLean, Fannie	Training School	1908-1926
McQuarrie, John	Woodwork	1915-1917
Nebecker, Myrtle	Domestic Science	1909-1911
Nelke, Miriam	Special Elocution	1900-1908
Nelson, Carl	Music	1908-1909
Nelson, Elmer	Piano	1917-1970
Nelson, Nels L.	English, Spanish	1883-1920
Nicholes, Joseph	Math	1914-1915
Noble, Joseph	Training School	1881-1884
Nuttal, L. John	Education	1908-1930
Oliver, James A.	Training School	1899-1900
Ollerton, James A.	Chemistry	1914-1915
Ollerton, Mary J.	Elementary Education	1898-1933
Ollorton, Anna	Librarian	1919-1948
Olsen, Carrie	Training School	1881-1884
Osmond, Alfred	English	1903-1938
Osterman, James	Training School	1896-1897
Pack, Mosher F.	Math	1902-1906
Page, Annie	Training School	1881-1884
Page, Eva	Typing	1910-1911
Page, George S.	Veterinary Science	1914-1915
Pardoe, T. Earl	Speech, Drama	1919-1952
Parkinson, Nettie	Domestic Science	1907-1909
Parry, E. T.	Training School	188?-1884
Partridge, Ernest DeAlton	Agricultural Engineering, Math	1897-1923
Partridge, Ray	Math	1905-1913
Partridge, Stanley	Music	1900-1903
Patten, Ida	Training School	1881-1884
Penrose, Charles W.	Theology	1897-1899 1901-1902
Peterson, Hans C.	Training School	1906-1907
Peterson, Henry	Education	1909-1911
Peterson, Hermese	Elementary Education	1899-1900 1905-1948
Peterson, John C.	Training School	1908-1909

Peterson, Joseph	Psychology	1908-1910
Peterson, L. H.	Secondary Education	1915-1920
Peterson, Lillian Jensen	Training School	1920-1923
Peterson, Margaret	Training School	1897-1898
Peterson, Peter C., Jr.	English, Training School	1904-1906 1911-1912
Peterson, Preston G.	Agriculture, Animal Husbandry	1907-1909
Philips, Aline	Violin	1917-1920 1922-1924
Phillips, George E.	French, Physical Science	1892-1893
Pike, Annie	English	1902-1903
Poulson, L. Wilford	Training School, Psychology	1910-1951
Pratt, Valton M.	Penmanship	1897-1900
Preston, Sarah E.	Stenography	1902-1910
Raile, Theodore	Physical Education	1920-1921 1929-1931
Rasmussen, A. T.	Biology	1907-1908 1909-1915
Reid, Claire M.	Music	1902-1920
Rees, Nephi	Training School	1899-1900
Reese, David E.	Music	1909-1912
Reese, John T.	Typing, Penmanship	1904-1909
Reynolds, Alice Louise	English	1895-1938
Reynolds, George	Religion	1893-1902
Richardson, S. C.	Spanish	1899-1900
Roberts, Bertha	Office Practice, French	1919-1941
Roberts, Eugene L.	Physical Education	1910-1929
Roberts, Loa	Oral Expression, Physical Culture	1909-1911
Robinson, J. William	Preparatory School Business Law	1907-1908 1922-1925
Roylance, Ireta	Music	1917-1918
Roylance, Merline	Domestic Science	1914-1915
Rydalch, William E.	Law, Geography	1885-1896 1902-1904
Sainsberry, Robert	Training School, Chemistry	1904-1906

Salisbury, Cornelius	Art	1907-1908
Sauer, Robert	Music	1905-1943
Saxey, Alfred	Librarian	1899-1900
Schofield, Nellie	English	1905-1911
Schumaker, Viola	Training School	1912-1913
Scramm, Lydia	Training School	1902-1905
Secrist, Horace	English	1902-1909
Simons, Emma S.	Telegraphy	1900-1904
Smart, Edwin H.	Training School, Horticulture	1902-1907 1909-1920
Smart, Henrietta Neff	Training School, Dean of Women	1906-1907 1925-1945
Smith, Belle	Training School	1920-1921
Smith, Ida	Piano	1914-1916
Smoot, Tennie	Training School	1876-1877
Smith, Thomas W.	Bookkeeping	1902-1907
Snell, Heber C.	Latin, English	1908-1912
Snell, William H.	Mechanical Arts	1915-1957
Snow, Chester	Math, Physics	1906-1912
Snow, May M.	English	1911-1912
Snow, E. Pearl	Training School	1911-1923
Southworth, Mettie	Training School, Music	1879-1884
Spaulding, N. C.	Veterinary Science	1908-1909
Spencer, Bessie	Training School	1907-1908
Stanley, Lester A.	Physics	1897-1899
Stewart, Andrew J., Jr.	Training School, Physician	1881-1884 1914-1915
Swensen, John C.	Economics, Sociology	1898-1941
Syndergaard, Ann C.	Telegraphy	1897-1900
Talmage, James E.	Training School, Chemistry	1879-1891
Talmage, May Booth	Reading	1885-1890
Talmage, Susa	Training School	1902-1908
Tanner, Caleb	Engineering, Geometry	1897-1904
Tanner, Grace	Arithmetic	1885-1890
Tanner, Jennie	Ladies Department	1883-1888
Tanner, Joseph Marian	Commerce, Training School	1879-1884
Tanner, Lucy	Training School	1881-1884
Tanner, Nathaniel H.	Beaver Branch	1901-1902

Taylor, Sarah	Training School	1879-1880
Teetzel, Clayton T.	Athletics	1905-1908
Thomas, Hyrum F.	Training School	1879-1880
Thornton, Nellie	English	1905-1911
Thurman, Archie M.	Training School	1908-1910
Thurman, S. R.	Law	1887
		1892-1894
Townshend, Joseph L.	Mechanical Department	1893-1894
Tuckett, Sarah	Training School	1881-1884
VanBuren, Chester G.	Natural Science	1903-1909
Van Buren, Clyde	Biology	1908-1909
Vance, Angus	Arithmetic,	1881-1890
	Training School	
Vance, Arthur	Veterinary Science	1912-1914
Vance, Serena Broadbent	Training School	1907-1908
Wakefield, J. M.	Training School	1920-1921
Wakefield, M. E.	Woodwork	1905-1907
Wakefield, Zella B.	Training School	1902-1907
Walker, Chestine	Training School	1879-1880
Walker, Hattie	Shorthand, Typing	1909-1916
Walsh, Bertie	Training School	1904-1906
Walsh, John R.	Chemistry	1908-1909
Wanlass, William L.	Accounting	1910-1913
Ward, May	Domestic Science	1903-1915
Ward, William F.	Math	1900-1913
Warnick, Frederich	Banking, Commercial Arithmetic	1900-1907
Watkins, George	Training School	1881-1884
Webb, Delbert	Physical Education, Math	1914-1919
Wedge, Lizzie Findlay	Reading	1885-1890
Whitby, Mary	Training School	1905-1906
White, Hettie	Beaver Branch	1901-1902
Whitely, Joseph	Ancient Languages, Literature	1893-1894
Whittaker, C. W.	Foreign Languages	1909-1920
Whittaker, Louise	Household Economics	1898-1902
Whitwood, Ernest G.	Training School	1908-1909

Widtsoe, John A.	Agriculture, Chemistry	1906-1907 1921-1926
Wilkins, J. Ralph	Training School, Spanish	1913-1916
Williams, Margaret	Training School	1916-1918
Williams, Zina Y.	Training School	1879-1884
Wilson, Elmira	Training School	1881-1884
Wilson, Ervin A.	Training School	1879-1880
	Constitutional History	1892-1896
Winters, Susie	Training School	1879-1880
Winters, William	Geography	1885-1890
Wolfe, Walter M.	Latin	1892-1902
Woodhouse, George	Beaver Branch	1905-1906
Wood, Lyman	Penmanship	1876-1877
Woodruff, Mary	Training School	1894-1903
Woodward, Hugh M.	Philosophy of Education	1908-1911 1921-1936
Woodward, R. L.	English	1901-1902
Wooley, Dilworth	Training School	1902-1903
Wride, Annie	Training School	1881-1884
Wright, Hattie	Domestic Science	1919-1922
Wright, W. K.	Military Science and Tactics	1891-1893
Wunderly, Olga	Modern Languages	1917-1925
Young, Alice	Shorthand, Typing	1901-1903
Young, Arretta	Art, Reading	1885-1886 1897-1923
Young, Beatrice	Domestic Art	1906-1907
Young, Christina D.	Domestic Art	1893-1907
Young, Joseph Don Carlos	Math, Architecture	1886-1887 1899-1900
Young, Laura	Training School	1881-1884
Young, Lucille	Domestic Art	1903-1909
Zundel, Maria E.	Domestic Art	1907-1908

Appendix 15

Sentence Sermons by Karl G. Maeser

Infidelity is consumption of the soul.

One who has lost the Spirit of the Lord is dead spiritually.

Eagerness to earn bread and butter has overshadowed many a golden opportunity.

Everyone of you, sooner or later, must stand at the forks of the road and choose between personal interests and some principle of right.

No righteous rules, however rigid, are too stringent for me; I will live above them.

There is no truth that has not its source in the Author of all truth. All our prayers are addressed in the handwriting of the heart, readable to God and ourselves only.

You can pray best when you feel most like praying, but you should pray most when you feel least like it.

There is a Mount Sinai for every child of God, if he only knows how to climb it.

The very term "authority" implies respect and veneration.

If we knew the design of our Father in Heaven, with respect to us, we would thank him for all the experiences that visit us.

It is our privilege to become so attached to our duties that temptation shall have no power to lead us astray.

The Lord has unconditionally declared the triumph of His Church, but His promises to me are all conditional. My concern, therefore, is about myself.

What we did before we came to earth conditioned us here; what we do here will condition us in the world to come.

The good angels never lose an opportunity of calling attention to something good in everybody.

Everyone's life is an object lesson to others.

My word shall always be as good as my bond.

Make the man within you your living ideal.

Be yourself, but always your better self.

Say to your soul: "Let no unclean thing ever enter here."

No man shall be more exacting of me or my conduct than I am of myself.

A man without character is like a ship without a rudder.

Authority must be as an iron fist in a velvet glove.

Our patriarchal blessings are paragraphs from the book of our possibilities.

Boys, when you are tempted to go into a saloon, think of me, your teacher.

I would rather lose my right arm than break my word of honor. I would rather trust my child to a serpent than to a teacher who does not believe in God.

School is a drill for the battle of life. If you fail in the drill, you may fail in the battle.

The truly educated man will always speak to the understanding of the most unlearned of his audience.

If you learn only the fraction of the A of a principle, practice at once that fraction you have learned.

A laudable ambition to excel is an indispensable requisite to success. Whatever you do, don't do nothing. Whatever you be, don't be a scrub.

Let your first good morning be to your Heavenly Father.

The Lord never gets in debt to any man.

The Lord never does anything arbitrarily.

Youth demands recreation, and if it is not provided in high places they will seek it in low places.

The old man taught in a cabin, but his boys have built a palace in which to teach.

Do we not often take the credit when we excel, instead of giving it to God? We are not yet humble enough; and therefore, when we offer a fine prayer or speech, or whatever it may be, we allow Satan to flatter us and say, "How beautiful!" To the Lord alone is due the praise.

He who deceives others is a knave, but he who deceives himself is a fool.

It is not so much what a person says, but what makes him say it.

He who cheats another is a knave; but he who cheats himself is a fool.

We go to the East for Learning; but the East will come to the West for Wisdom.

When I listen to a sermon, I have my ears open to the doctrine only.

If it shall please my Heavenly Father, I will be a teacher in heaven.

When I see a man, whether he be a Mohammedan, Jew, Pagan, Christian, or Latter-day Saint, who has not charity for his fellow-man, I doubt his sincerity.

If you want excuses, go to the Devil — he can give you any number.

A true Latter-day Saint is one who has dedicated himself, soul and body, to God, in all things, temporal and spiritual.

Appendix 16

Sermonettes by President George H. Brimhall

The Broken Spring

Day before yesterday morning when we went out, we saw some rubbish in the corner. I am glad you did not all see it.

Someone suggested that the fellow who did that should have been pitched out. "Well," I said, "Let us pitch out the dirt, and keep the man."

I do not want to think about that: I want to dismiss it from my mind. There are some students here whom I would like to talk to in my office, but I haven't time; so I shall talk to them this morning. They are good students, too.

On a recent trip that I made to southern Utah I went by automobile. I do not like to drive an automobile except as recreation because I cannot think when I drive. I must keep my hand on the wheel and my eye on the road.

When we came to the "Black Ridge," or a few miles this side of it, I said to the driver: "I want to drive around Dead Man's Curve."

"Why?"

"Well, just as a matter of history, because forty-three years ago I was frightened nearly out of my wits every time I thought about getting my six mules and two wagons around Dead Man's Curve."

I drove around it all right, and then I said: "Take the wheel."

He drove until we came to the dugway and I said: "There is the scene of a terrible accident. A man drove his automobile right off the bank. One person was killed and another one maimed for life. There was no occasion for driving off there. There was plenty of road. The trouble was that this man had a broken spring on the hind wheel of his car. That was the indirect cause. The direct cause was the man's looking around and paying attention to that defective part when he should have been paying attention to what was ahead."

I did not say any more about that at the time, but it looked to me like a fine lesson. Let me not use time that should be used in getting ahead, forging ahead, in watching the spring part of myself, looking after my defects. This is another case of the sunflower. I will say to my students that there is a time to mend that spring and to put your whole attention to mending it, but not when it will interfere with the journey.

That little poem comes to my mind:

“Arise if the past detain you,
No chain so unworthy to hold you
As that of a vain regret”

— that of having our failing points, our weak points in our memory, in our judgment, in our perception. We have no time when the study hour, when the hour of progress is on, to brood over any of our defects. I connect this up with what Professor Boyle once said: “Do not spend your time looking at the hole in the doughnut, but look at the whole doughnut.” So I look at this school in my own life.

The Camel Test

There is a story in natural history in which you might be interested. I am interested in it, as a teacher.

The camel merchants of Arabia, in order to determine the value of a camel, examine him somewhat as we would examine a horse. But that is a preliminary examination; the final examination, upon which is based the value of the dromedary or camel, is the leading of him up to the watering trough. He is saddled, the trough is filled with clear, sparkling water, and he is led up to it. If he rubs his nose in the water, splashes around a little, and then turns and looks this way and that and sniffs the air, he is turned down as a fourth rate camel. If he drinks a little, he is a third grade camel. If he drinks moderately, he is graded as a second rate camel and his value is in proportion. But if he drinks copiously — drains the trough — he is the highest-priced camel, granted that he is sound and able to travel. And why! Because that snuffler that simply splashed the water with his nose, that gazer from side to side, that looker into the distance as though he could travel the whole desert when he is loaded and started would perish on the desert.

We are not camels; students are not camels; teachers are not Arabian merchants, but they are like them. They fill the troughs with clear, sparkling water. The students in their classes come up to drink and you will find by the tests of examination to which class they belong. But the great test is the test on the desert of life, whether they carry their burden or not. You will see some information coming from the teacher. You will see them looking, gazing into the future, dreaming about something, I know not what, as though they had the wings of an airship.

Then you will see others who will be moderately attentive; and you will see others whose minds are concentrated; they are reaching out,

they drain the trough of information, and when they go before an examination, or when they meet the problems of life, they will not lie down and fail to get up on the sand.

All the grit some people have is what hangs to the outside of them.

But the students who succeed, they have been filled with what is to support them, and they will make their journey — they will make their journey.

Drifting

I drove by a man trudging along on the muddy highway, but my feelings hurt me as I passed him, and the farther I got from him the closer he got to me. Finally I reined up my horse and drove back beyond him, turned, drove up to him, and said:

“Going far?”

“Don’t know,” he answered, with little or no concern.

“Where you bound for?”

“No place in particular.”

“Well, I can’t help you. You are just traveling, not going anywhere.”

I drove on with my conscience cleared, but with the remark to myself, “Driftwood! Human driftwood!”

Human driftwood has become a problem. There are evidently two chief reasons behind this pitiable effect. The first contributing cause of human driftwood is a sort of dalliance with aimlessness or ease-taking until it becomes a habit, and then one becomes the voluntary creature of circumstances instead of the commanding creator of circumstances. The world pushes aside the drifter; it makes way for the man who is going somewhere.

The second cause of human driftwood is discouragement. When we read that Europe is drifting, we do not think of her as dreaming away her life of greatness amid the circling smoke of the cigarettes as Spain has done, but we think of those countries of enterprise and conquest as being discouraged, and, under the deadening pressure of discouragement, moving into a state of fatal don’t-care-ism.

If my tramp was the product of the first cause, as I thought and still think he was, then any interference with his “just going” would have failed to be helpful; but if he was like one to whom I “gave a lift” a few days ago, just discouraged, then to have “taken him on” and encouraged him with visions of objectives and ways of realizing them would have been my duty. The fiber of driftwood made so by

discouragement may be renewed, but that produced by habit of aimlessness is beyond reformation.

You go by a farm and you see around the house pigs, chickens, horses, cows, and dogs, and you say, "Driftwood, farm driftwood." No scientific field worker lives there, a shiftless farmer home, that. There is as much difference between a shiftless farmer and a scientific field worker as there is between a fiddler and a violinist or a painter and an artist.

You have a neighbor who drops in on you and cannot read, "This is my busy day" on your face, and this member of a social circle tells you of all the indoor casualties, the domestic differences of the neighborhood, the picture shows sensations, but never a word of an opera or a lecture or of a new high-grade book, and you think, "Driftwood, social driftwood."

You have a debtor who tells you he will come in and pay an obligation after you have given him many reminders that the putting of a check in an envelope addressed to you would be a source of financial relief; or you get a clumsy excuse from a person upon whom you have depended for service, and you say of the promises and excuses, "Driftwood, Business driftwood!"

Driftwood! No first class article can be made from it. A bridge made of it may break of its own weight. A fire built of it produces more smoke than flame. Its grain being destroyed, it cannot take on polish:

Don't be a growler, a growler,
Just be a smiler worth-whiler;
Be seeing the good, and say what you should
But don't be a growler, a growler.

Don't be a grabber, a grabber,
Just be a giver "let-liver,"
Be right on the square, honest and fair,
But don't be a grabber, a grabber.

Don't be a drifter, a drifter —
Just be a helper, a lifter;
Be going somewhere, doing your share
But don't be a hanger-on drifter.

Appendix 17

Horace H. Cummings on the Modernism Controversy

A letter from Horace H. Cummings, general superintendent of LDS Schools, to Joseph F. Smith and members of the General Church Board of Education, written 21 January 1911:

Dear Brethren:

According to your request I herewith present for your consideration a written report of my recent visit to the B. Y. University, Provo, and the impressions made upon my mind concerning the nature and effect of certain theological instructions given, mostly by the College professors in that school.

I spent about nine days there between November 28 and December 10 and conversed with the Presidency of the school, many of the teachers, and as many of the College students as I had opportunity of meeting. I also conversed with a number of leading citizens of Provo about this feature of the school's work and endeavored, conscientiously, to find out the real condition of the school in this respect, and the following are some of the points of information gained there:

1. About two years ago when some of the most radical changes in theological views were first introduced, it caused great disturbance in the minds of both the pupils and the old-style teachers there, but many have gradually adjusted their views to the "new thought" and feel that they have gained much by the change. Many of the teachers and students are unable to accept them, however, though practically all the College students whom I met, except one or two returned missionaries, were most zealous in defending and propagating the new views.

2. It was the unanimous opinion that interest in theological work had never been more universal or more intense in school than it is now. These classes are gladly attended and none seem to shirk the work.

3. All express firm faith in the living oracles.

4. All believe in tithing, missionary work, and the ordinances of the gospel, and appear to be determined to do their duty in these things.

5. I discovered no spirit of contention or bitterness — their differences seemed to be good-natured. Still, there is a pronounced

difference of opinion among both students and teachers upon many important points of doctrine and belief.

Some of the matters which impressed me most unfavorably may be enumerated as follows:

1. Several of the teachers follow the so-called "higher criticism" in their theological work and use Dr. Lyman Abbott's writings as authority.

2. The Bible is treated as a collection of myths, folk-lore, dramas, literary productions, and some inspiration. Its miracles are mostly fables or accounts of natural events recorded by simple people who injected the miraculous element into them, as most ignorant people do when things strange to them occur. A few concrete examples will illustrate this view:

(a) The flood was only a local inundation of unusual extent.

(b) The confusion of tongues came about by scattering of the families descended from Noah when they became too numerous for the valley they originally occupied. After a generation or two, having no written language, their speech changed, each tribe's in a different way. There is nothing sudden or miraculous in the change.

(c) The winds blew the waters of the Red Sea back until the Israelites waded across, but subsided in time to let the waters drown Pharaoh, while a land slide stopped the River Jordan long enough for them to cross it.

(d) Christ's temptation is only an allegory of what takes place in each of our souls. There is no personal devil to tempt us.

(e) John the Revelator was not translated. He died in the year 96.

3. The theory of evolution is treated as a demonstrated law and their applications of it to gospel truths give rise to many curious and conflicting explanations of scripture. Its relations to the fall, the atonement, and the resurrection are, perhaps, the most important and damaging to the faith of the students.

4. Philosophical ideas are often carried too far and result in wrong impressions as to doctrine. This may be partly the fault of the teacher in not making himself clear, and partly of the pupil in jumping at the wrong conclusions or applications. For example:

(a) Sin is the violation of a law resulting in pain or discomfort. Righteousness is pursuing a course that brings happiness. No intelligent being would sin if he knew its full consequences, hence, sin is ignorance — education or knowledge, is salvation. Sinners should be pitied and enlightened rather than blamed and punished. Ordinances may be helpful props to weak mortals, but knowledge is the only essential.

(b) We should never agree. God never made two things alike. Only by taking different views of a thing can its real truth be seen.

5. Memory gems are immoral, since fixing the words fixes the thought and prevents growth. I was told that one teacher, before his class, thanked God he could not repeat one of the Articles of Faith and another took his children out of Primary Association because they were taught to memorize.

6. All truths change as we change. Nothing is fixed or reliable. As we grow or change our attitude toward any truth, that truth changes.

7. Visions and revelations are mental suggestions. The objective reality of the presence of the Father and the Son, in Joseph Smith's first vision, is questioned.

8. To get the real truth in any vision or revelation, modern as well as ancient, the mental and physical condition of the prophet receiving it must be known. After eliminating the personal equation, the remainder may be recognized as inspiration or divine.

9. In thus robbing the scriptures, both ancient and modern, of the greater portion of their divinity, and limiting the wonders of the Great Creator to the necessity of confining his operations to the natural laws known to man, I asked if it did not lower the scriptures and weaken their influence upon their minds. The reply was that the scriptures and the gospel were more dear and more beautiful to them, on that account, being broader in their applications. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that the line of the prophets and righteous men of both the Bible and the Book of Mormon, whose reference to the miraculous deliverance of Israel from Egypt is recorded as a special mark of their divine approval, cannot but be regarded with pity for not knowing the science of our day which robs these events of their wonder, if not their divinity.

10. And in the same line, while these teachers extol the living oracles, it came to me from several sources that if their teachings are to be investigated they will demand that the ones who do the investigating shall be men of the same learning as themselves; none others could understand them and do them justice.

The foregoing are only a few of the more important features of the questionable teachings there that came to my notice, but enough to give a general idea of what I found. Much of the work, of course, was sound and unobjectionable, and even many of the questionable new theories and explanations were not fixed. There seemed to be a struggle still going on between their new views and their old ones, and at times their words were full of light, and at other times and on

the same subjects they would be full of darkness. The struggle that both teacher and pupil described to me as having taken place in their own hearts when the new thought was being presented to them, was very fierce, and often robbed them of appetite and sleep. "An unusual effect of getting added light on the gospel," I urged; but they replied that it was like the sorrow of the little child when first told there is no Santa Claus. "So will the real new Bible and gospel be better than the old one."

Religion, like science, must be expressed in terms of KNOWLEDGE. FAITH now seems to be regarded with pity as a superstition and is not a characteristic of the intellectually trained.

Since my visit to Provo, as many as three stake presidents in one week have called upon me expressing alarm at the teachings that come from the B. Y. University. One of them said that when he expostulated with the principal of their stake academy for teaching false doctrine, his defense was that the B.Y. University taught the same. Another President told me he did not want their present principal another year, as he is an apostate in his teachings and belief. The third said he would not allow one of his children to be under certain of the B. Y. University professors for anything. Many parents of students there have also visited me and expressed great fear for the faith of their children.

A student who will take his degree at the University of Utah next spring applied to me the other day for a position in the church schools. In our conversation he told me that one of his professors, well known as hostile to our church, has read the articles from the *White and Blue*, the B. Y. University school journal, to his classes and expressed great satisfaction that *young* Mormons, anyway, are getting their eyes open on religious matters.

I presume that, being the Superintendent of the Church Schools, more complaints of this kind reach me than come to any of the other brethren; and I may, therefore, be unduly impressed with the danger which exists and needs to be remedied in our Provo school. I do not wish to magnify these conditions, but cannot help feeling deep anxiety that the soundness of doctrine, the sweetness of spirit, and the general faithfulness that has, from the beginning, characterized the products of that school, should not diminish, much less give way to error and disbelief.

I believe the presidency of the school feel exactly as I do about this matter, for I have talked about it with them many times — especially with President Brimhall and President Keeler.

The responsibility for this state of affairs seems to rest upon no more than four or five of the teachers, all of whom I regard as clean, earnest men, conscientious in what they do and teach; but, being so long in college with so little to help them resist the skillfully formed theories of learned men, they have accepted many which are erroneous; and being zealous teachers, are vigorously laboring to convince others of their views. Such attitudes of mind, from the beginning, have been a common experience with our students in eastern colleges; but fortunately they often get rid of these errors when they again plunge into church work at home. Conditions in Provo are unfavorable for such a solution of their difficulty. The number there is sufficient to form a coterie having similar views, and the opposition they receive from others keeps them drawn together and determined to defend their views. If they were distributed and given other lines of work to do where their theories would not be continually called into activity, I think their attitude might change much for the better, in time, but I feel sure the conditions in the Teacher's College, in this respect, need changing as soon as practicable.

These teachers have been warned by the presidency of the school and by myself, and even pleaded with, for the sake of the school, not to press their views with so much vigor. Even if they were right, conditions are not suitable; but their zeal overcomes all counsel and they seem even more determined, if not defiant, in pushing their beliefs upon the students. They seem to feel they have a mission to protect the young from the errors of their parents, and one student said to me, "I could make my dear mother weep in a minute by telling her how I have changed my religious views." Yet, he had only accepted that which he thought was far ahead of what that mother had taught him. The poor mother did not have the capacity of understanding his new light and rejoicing with him in it so he would keep it a secret from her.

The foregoing is respectfully submitted in the hope that a wise and effectual way may be decided upon to bring into harmony the theological teachings in our church schools and prevent the dissemination of doubt or false doctrine.

Your brother in the gospel,
Horace H. Cummings

Appendix 18
**BYU Students Who Lost Their Lives in the Service of Their
Country during World War I**

Anderson, Darrell (died of flu)
Anderson, George E. (died of flu)
Argyle, Horace R. (died of flu at Camp Kearney)
Card, Reed
Chipman, Wesley
Ekins, Abel J. (died of flu)
Hales, Howard
Henelsley, Stanford
Hickman, Leonidas (died of flu in France)
Johnson, Arnold E.
Lockhart, Dan
Peterson, Frank
Radmall, Reuben
Twelves, Roland
Woodruff, LeRoy Dean (died of wounds and flu in France)
Zabriskie, Walter

See UA 38, BYU Archives, for a complete list of BYU students who served in the armed forces during World War I.

Appendix 19

Brigham Young Academy Notes Endorsed by Abraham O. Smoot

At the time of his death, Abraham O. Smoot had the following notes that he had endorsed for Brigham Young Academy outstanding against his name:

To the Jarvis Conklin Mortgage and Trust Company one note dated August 1st, 1891, due August 1st, 1893, for the sum of \$5,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of six percent per annum.

To the Jarvis Conklin Mortgage and Trust Company one note dated August 1st, 1891, due August 1, 1896, for the sum of \$5,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of six percent per annum.

To the Jarvis Conklin Mortgage and Trust Company one note, dated August 1st, 1891, due August 1st, 1896, for the sum of \$9,350.00 with interest thereon at the rate of six percent per annum.

To Zions Saving Bank one note dated October 2nd, 1891, due January 2nd, 1892, for the sum of \$15,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of ten percent per annum.

To S. Liddiard one note dated December 1st, 1891, due December 1st, 1892, for the sum of \$200.00 with interest thereon at the rate of ten percent per annum.

To the Provo Lumber Manufacturing and Building Company one note dated February 24, 1892, due February 24, 1893, for the sum of \$3,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of ten percent per annum.

To the Provo Commercial and Savings Bank one note dated December 6th, 1892, due June 6th, 1893, for the sum of \$4,805.25, with interest thereon at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To the Provo Lumber Manufacturing and Building Company one note dated December 15th, 1892, due June 15th, 1893, for the sum of \$1,570.00 with interest at the rate of ten percent per annum.

To George C. Whitmore one note dated March 14th, 1893, due March 14th, 1894, upon which is due the sum of \$3,500.00 with interest at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To Joseph D. Jones one note dated Aug. 23rd, 1893, due August 23, 1894, for the sum of \$1,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of fifteen percent per annum.

To the First National Bank of Provo one note dated January 30th, 1894, due on demand upon which is due the sum of \$500.00 with interest thereon at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To the First National Bank of Provo one note dated January 30th, 1894, due upon demand for the sum of \$1,500.00 with interest thereon at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To the First National Bank of Provo one note dated January 30th, 1894, due upon demand for the sum of \$1,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To the Deseret National Bank one note dated April 2nd, 1894, due July 1st, 1894, for the sum of \$5,000.00 with interest thereon at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To Belmont and Kinney one note dated June 4th, 1894, due November 7th, 1894, for the sum of \$1,000.00 with interest at the rate of ten percent per annum.

To B. H. Ferguson one note dated July 4th, 1894, due January 4th, 1895, for the sum of \$1,800.00 with interest at the rate of seven percent per annum.

To Gustave Kroego, Guardian, one note dated September 12th, 1894, due October 9th, 1894, for the sum \$2,000.00 with interest at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To State Bank of Utah one note dated February 1st, 1893, due August 1st, 1895, for the sum of \$750.00 with interest at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To Midgley & Sons one note dated February 9th, 1895, due February 9th, 1896, for the sum of \$2000.00 with interest at the rate of eight percent per annum.

To Lehi Commercial and Savings Bank one note dated February 14th, 1895, due August 14th, 1895, for the sum of \$1200.00 with interest at the rate of twelve percent per annum.

To First National Bank of Provo one note dated February 15th, 1895, due June 15th, 1895, for the sum of \$271.38 with interest at the rate of twelve percent per annum.¹

1. From Abraham O. Smoot Papers, Church Historical Department.

Appendix 20
Samples of Early Diplomas

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.



The General Board of Education

OF THE

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

HEREBY LICENSES

George H. Brimhall,

To act as an Instructor in ~~the~~ Theory & Practice of Teaching
in any School of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in which he may
be engaged, under the authority of a duly constituted State Board of Education. This

LICENSE

To be void after *June 30* 1892

In Witness whereof, we have hereto attached our Signatures and
the Seal of the Board at Salt Lake City, Utah, this 4th day of
February 1892

In behalf of the Board of Education,

Wilford Woodruff President.

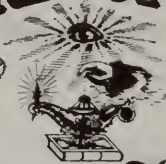
Geo. F. Reynolds Secretary.

Dr. Noah M. Mueser,

Chairman, one of Board of

in behalf of the Examiners.

THE
GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION
 OF THE
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.



*To all to whom these presents may come, Greeting:
 Know ye, that satisfactory evidence having been brought before us that*

GEORGE HENRY BRIMHALL

is a **HIGH PRIEST** *in full standing and fellowship in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that he has pursued to a successful conclusion theoretically and practically, the various branches of a Liberal Education in Theology, Science, Letters and the Arts*

We therefore declare him a
Doctor in Science & Didactics

D. Sc. D.

unto all the Schools of the said Church
In Witness Whereof *we have caused this* **Diploma** *to be signed by the President and Secretary of this Board and to be sealed and issued at Salt Lake City, Utah, on this eighteenth day of November Anno Domini One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety Eight*

In behalf of the General Board of Education,



Geo. Reynolds

President

Secretary

Registered by U. S. Copyright Office

BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY.



The Board of Trustees and the Academic Faculty,
Hereby Confer on **George S. Brimhall** Who has Completed the
Prescribed Course in **PEDAGOGY** Offered in the Academy, the Degree of

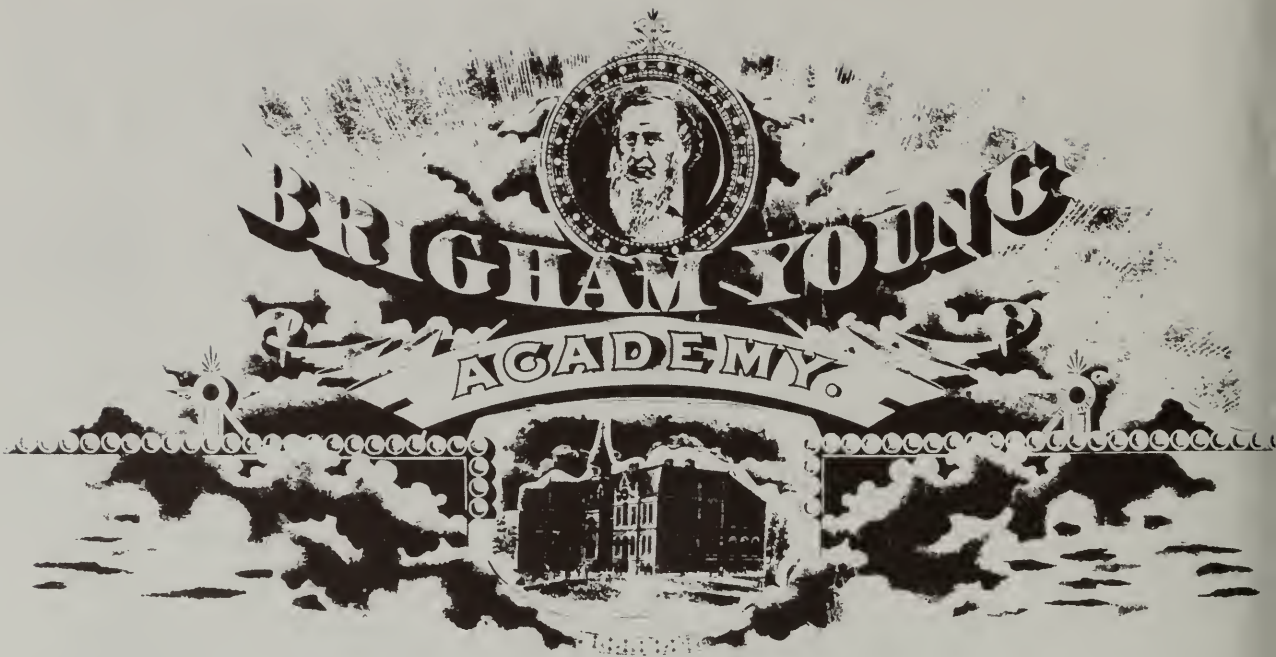
BACHELOR OF PEDAGOGY.

Dated the 26th day of May in the year Eighteen Hundred & Sixty-three.

J. L. Smith President of Board.
A. D. McWhorter Secretary of Board.

Reynolds Cluff Principal.
Wm. H. Smith Secretary of Faculty.





The Board of Trustees and the Academical Faculty,
 hereby confer on Mary Ann Ward, who has completed the
 prescribed Courses of Instruction offered in the Academy the Degree of

BACHELOR OF PEDAGOGY

Dated the 27th day of May in the year 1897.

David J. Lin, Vice PRES OF BOARD
Milam H. Washburn, SECY OF BOARD



Benjamin Chaffin, President.
Edward H. Hill, SECY OF FACULTY

Brigham Young University



PROVO CITY, UTAH, U.S.A.

Whereas, *May Ward* has completed the prescribed course of instruction required for the honor, therefore the Brigham Young University upon the recommendation of the Faculty and by virtue of the authority vested in the Board of Trustees hereby confers on her the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

with all the Rights, Privileges and Honors therewith appertaining

Dated the 29th day of May in the year of our Lord the nineteen hundred thirtieth and of the University the thirty seventh

Joseph H. Smith
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

John H. Hawley
HEAD OF THE CHURCH TEACHERS' COLLEGE

George H. Brimhall
PRESIDENT OF THE FACULTY

Elbert H. Eastwood

E. H. Holt
SECRETARY OF FACULTY

Brigham Young Academy + +
+ + Kindergarten Training Class



Whereas, Lucas A. Savage has faithfully
completed the prescribed Course of Study and Practice in
Kindergarten Teaching,

...This Certificate...

is granted her as a Testimonial of her qualifications as a Kindergarten
Given at Provo, Utah this twenty first day of May 1896

Benjamin Cluff President

Anna K. Craig

Wilson H. Perkins Secy. of Bldg.

E. M. Holt Secy. of Acad.

